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The other nationalists : Marcus Garvey and Pedro Albizu Campos.

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THE OTHER NATIONALISTS: MARCUS GARVEY AND PEDRO ALBIZU
CAMPOS

A Thesis Presented

by

CHARLES R. VENATOR SANTIAGO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Department of Political Science

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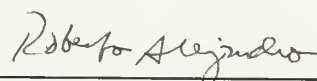
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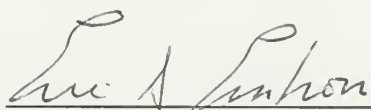
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DEDICATION

This text is dedicated to a lot of people who have become part of my communal support network. It is dedicated to the Nuance Special Interest Residential Education Program, including Theresa, Kelly, Dolly, Gamal and all of the special folks that give me additional headaches. It is especially dedicated to the Latin American Cultural Center Staff, Mercedes, Hernán, Yinán, Celi, Malwin, Norma, and Walter. It is also dedicated to the Brown and Gold Brethren of Iota Phi Theta, with special love for Selwin and BA. I also want to dedicated to the Brotherhood of Mlinzi Wa Watu, who have slowed me down in more ways than I care to admit. I want to further dedicate this beast to the Science Enrichment Program Staff who have been through it all.

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And of course this is dedicated to Katia, Lily, and Michelle, Titi, Olguita, Abuela, Daisy, Daisita and Rosario, my most important communal network.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THESIS OUTLINE

Introduction

In a recent discussion of the religious heterodoxy and the nationalist tradition of the Nation of Islam (NOI), perhaps one of the more controversial African-American organizations at present, Professor Ernest Allen Jr. asserts that:

Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), a mass-based Pan-Africanist organization which peaked in the mid 1920s, paved the way for a complex assortment of nationalist groups which followed - including the NOI.¹

This is not to say that Marcus Garvey plants the seed of mass-based nationalisms which are to follow, but rather it is the recognition of the importance of his particular role in the longer genealogy of Black/African-American nationalisms. By contrast, in his discussion of *Los Macheteros*, Puerto Rico's perhaps most radical contemporary nationalist urban guerrilla, Prof. Ronald Fernandez asserts that:

Albizu is the spiritual father of Los Macheteros, and no matter how strongly they may reject ideas of his like the "concept of race," all nationalists remember the history of the 1930s and teach it to their children.²

To be sure, Don Pedro Albizu Campos, a contemporary of Marcus Garvey, has played a similar and significant foundationalist role in the articulation of a mass-based nationalisms in Puerto Rico.

It is within this context, namely a historical quest for foundational moments in the histories of both Puerto Rican and African-American nationalisms, that I am interested

¹Ernest Allen, Jr., "Religious Heterodoxy and Nationalist Tradition: The Continuing Evolution of the Nation of Islam," in New Movements and Trends in the World of Islam, ed. Peter B. Clarke (London: Curzon Press, 1996), p. 8.

²Ronald Fernandez, Los Macheteros: The Wells Fargo Robbery and the Violent Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1987), p. 146.

in engaging on a critique of both Marcus Garvey and Pedro Albizu Campos' theoretical reflections on the idea of the nation. More especially I am concerned with the meaning of independence and the relationship of traditions and symbols to the articulation of these two historical nationalist ideologies. Stated differently, I am interested in understanding and problematizing both Garvey's and Albizu Campos' theories by engaging in a critical discussion of the nation, legitimated by invented traditions and appropriated symbols, as well as resulting from a struggle for independence.

Moreover, while not making any particular claims to originality, I do want to expand the horizons of traditional mainstream nationalist theorists. By this I mean to suggest that while Marcus Garvey and Albizu Campos have been the object of multiple studies and critiques, "mainstream" nationalist theorists have virtually ignored these two nationalists. To be sure, taking as an example the canonical work of Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, we can note that although he claims that European popular nationalist movements embrace the American born nationalisms of the nineteenth century, he makes no mention of Puerto Rico nor the subsequent pan-Africanist ideologies which Garvey later embraced.³ This is not to say that Garvey's or Albizu's theories are not part of the general discussion of nationalism, for they themselves espoused quite Eurocentric civilizing programs, but rather that their interpretations of the nation, independence, as well as symbols and traditions can provide us with some interesting readings of mass-based ideologies. If anything I feel that students of nationalism can learn from that of Garvey and Campos.

Thus, I would like to structure this text into five chapters each addressing different areas of contention. This first chapter is intended to offer a general introduction and outline. The second chapter focuses on a historical contextualization of both Marcus Garvey and Pedro Albizu Campos through a biographical recapitulation of some

³Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, 2d ed., (New York: Verso, 1991).

important moments in the public lives of both nationalists. The third and fourth chapters critique of Garvey's and Albizu's theories respectively. By way of conclusion I would return to problematize some shared tensions present in their arguments, as well as discussing other dangers present in the differences of their approaches. In this concluding chapter I want to further highlight some important ways in which this study can further be enriched as well as some of the limitations of this work.

The second chapter seeks to briefly outline some of the major and more critical moments in the lives of these two nationalists. I would, however, like to focus on the years and dates during which their actions affected the public realm. This I feel is important since their particular theoretical impulses were not only influenced but also shaped by the social struggles in which they engaged and to which they were subjected to. Furthermore, in this chapter I am interested in introducing the reader into the public worlds of both of these nationalists, which as we will see, lived in two very separate yet shared realms. In the third and fourth chapters, respectively, I will engage in a direct critique of Garvey's and Albizu's theories as expressed on the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey⁴ and Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons⁵ Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, A Centennial Companion to The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers⁶, and Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas.⁷ It is

⁴Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, ed. Amy Jaques-Garvey; with an introduction by Robert A. Hill (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1923/1925; reprinted., New York: Athenaeum, 1992).

⁵Marcus Garvey, Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, A Centennial Companion to The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, ed. Robert A. Hill and Barbara Bair (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

⁶Robert A. Hill, and Barbara Bair, eds., Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, A Centennial Companion to The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

⁷Pedro Albizu Campos, Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, [Pedro Albizu Campos: Selected Works] 4 vols., ed. J. Benjamin Torres [Vol. I (1923-1936), Editorial Jelofe, 1975; Vol. II, (1934-1935), Editorial Jelofe (1981); Vol. III, (enero a mayo de 1936), Editorial Jelofe, (1981)].

my contention that given the strong distortions which historians have constructed, both in support and/or against these individuals, the most direct revelations of the tensions present in their thoughts can be extracted from the texts which they themselves created.⁸ Moreover, given the nature of these editions, namely recompilations of propaganda, sayings, poems, and public discourses, it is clear that these were texts which both Garvey and Albizu articulated to their respective followings, which in a sense enables us to see what ideologies mobilized people into embracing these nationalisms.

Another issue which I want to explore is the problem of legitimacy and history as framed in the traditions and symbols which both Garvey and Albizu appropriate. More particularly I am concerned with the interpretations of that past and their selective memories, as well as their selective forgetfulness and the impact that these interpretations have in shaping the contours of their nationalisms. In this section, however, I want to rely on Prof. Juan Duchesne Winter's characterization of the reconstruction of traditions in Albizu Campos' movement for the purpose of inventing patriotic national traditions, which he outlines as follows:

1. Traditions of Heraldic Civism - the national flag, its accompanying ritual, hymns, effigies, monuments, emblems/badges, colors, etc.
2. Traditions of Historical Civism - commemoration of public figures and their accompanying rituals, the establishment of symbolic dates, foundational stories, a hierarchical list of founding fathers and heroes.
3. Military Civism - martial spectacles: marches, symbolic flaunting of weapons, uniforms, ranks, etc.
4. Moral Civism - notions of bravery, a spirit of sacrifice and the activism of a national citizen.⁹

⁸Interestingly the available bodies of works of both individuals have been edited by other individuals, leaving in themselves the constraints of mediated reconstruction of their thoughts.

⁹Juan Duchesne Winter, "Metafísica narrativa de la nación albizuista," [Metaphysical Narrative of the Albizuista Nation] in La nación puertorriqueña: ensayos en torno a Pedro Albizu Campos, p. 23-24.

In addition, I would also like to include another category which may further aid us in the understanding of both of these nationalists use of symbols and invented traditions. I will call this category Economic Civism. This category will be inclusive of logos, and the naming of financial institutions and agencies. More importantly it suggests that the naming of financial institutions participates in the invention of national patriotic traditions through the invention of economic duties to the nation. I think this outline will help us understand the particular inventions of the past which both nationalists constructed and the historical place in which they located their movements. It will also demarcate some of the fissures of this glass box which has been called nationalism.

I will continue both chapters by asking the same question which Ernest Renan asked in a lecture delivered at the Sorbone on March 11, 1882, namely “what is a nation?”¹⁰ With this question I would like to frame a critique that takes the nation as the logical and material realization of both Garvey’s and Albizu’s “millenarian” struggles. Moreover, it is in the idea of the nation, I will contend, that we can find their definition of the identity of their respective communities. This raises multiple questions such as: who will be a member of the nation? and, how are the boundaries of the nation going to be determined? In particular these questions open up another discursive space which demands to know the criteria for national membership. In the case of Garvey, for instance, only a few select “negroes” were wanted to either build a new nation out of the former German colonies in Africa or to civilize the “backward tribes of Africa” and reconstruct a new nation out of Liberia.¹¹ By contrast, Albizu suggests a romantic vision of a rural landowner who has the national interest at heart and is an unconditional supporter of the Nationalist Party.

¹⁰Ernest Renan, “What is a nation?,” in Nation and Narration, ed. Homi K. Bhabha, (New York: Routledge, 1990).

¹¹Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II, p. 38.

Another question which I want to ask both nationalists is what is the relationship of independence to their theories and their struggles? The answers to this question, I suspect, may raise some important questions as to the nature of the relationship between African-Americans, as well as Puerto Ricans, and the United States. Undeniably economic, political, and social independence are some of the foundations of both Garvey's and Albizu's nationalisms, but the meaning of independence in relation to the nation suggests, in the case of Garvey, and perhaps to a certain extent in Albizu's argument to, that the world should be compartmentalized into racial spaces defined by the national geography, and where safety and security should be guaranteed. More importantly, both nationalists emerge at a time during which there was a widespread sense of frustration and anger, as well as anti-imperialist feelings, and their nationalisms claimed to offer a heroic solution to these feelings of impotence. This issue ultimately raises other questions such as how were the oppressive hierarchies which enabled the oppression of blacks and Puerto Ricans going to be challenged? Or was there a real and legitimate form of independence available to the people?

I will conclude both chapters by raising some of the tensions present in their argument, paying particular attention to their uses of race, gender, definitions of the nation, and their articulations of power. It is my contention that neither of these nationalisms offers a legitimate nor viable alternative to the particular contingencies for which they claim to offer solutions. As a matter of fact I would go as far as to suggest that they were ideological articulations of power seeking to replace other structures of power.

The fifth and concluding chapter of this thesis will suggest four similarities and areas of contention which are integral parts of Garvey's and Albizu's ideologies. These are the presence of fascism in their arguments as well as in their symbols; the relationship between the Pan-Americanist/Africanist ideas of the nation, and their

relationship to homogeneity; the role of the immigrant; and the relationship between civil rights struggles and the idea of an independent nation.

With regard to the idea of fascism, there is no doubt that both Hitler's eugenics and the genocide to which Jewish communities were subjected to, are quite atrocious and barbaric. The very Africans of the diaspora which Garvey is appealing to, for the most part, had been subjected to multiple centuries of slavery, genocide and apartheid.

However, as Wilson Jeremiah Moses reminds us:

It appears certain that the African regime Garvey hoped to establish was to be authoritarian, elitist, collectivist, racist, and capitalistic. "We were the first Fascists," he told J.A. Rogers, the popular black-people's historian. "Mussolini copied Fascism from me, but the Negro reactionaries sabotaged it."¹²

Likewise, it is in protest to the political repression of the United States in Puerto Rico that Albizu Campos emerges as a leader of a mass-based anti-imperialist feeling which is primarily concerned with social, political, and economic justice. Yet, all one needs to do is look at some of the Nationalist Party's newspapers during that period to see the swastikas which decorated the papers of the time.

Another issue of contention which I want to explore is the role of the immigrant in nation formation and the category of citizenship. Both Garvey and Albizu build national movements through their travels. In the case of the Jamaican born Garvey, the major success of his organization, the United Negro Improvement Organization, was in the United States. It is possible to argue that the nature of his ideology had a direct relation to the nature of his status as a "foreign/alien." In Albizu Campos case, his revolutionary movement occurred in Puerto Rico, where he was born and raised. Questions such as why didn't Garvey engage in the national liberation struggle of Jamaica, as opposed to the creation or "emancipation" of Africa, may have some relation to his status as a

¹²Wilson Jeremiah Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth, revised edition, (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1993), p. 139.

traveler. Likewise Albizu's prison sentences, in like manner to Garvey, and his exiles from the island effectively neutralized his nationalism.

Finally, I would like to conclude my thesis with a discussion of the implications of a civil rights struggle in opposition to a nationalism that privileges economic empowerment and independence. In the case of Garvey it is quite clear that he was not concerned with the civil rights struggles which Africans in the United States had to engage in order to secure, in many instances, survival at the margins of a society dominated by a social-economic and political apartheid. The result is the alienation of the followers of the U.N.I.A. from an active political struggle within their home, namely the United States. The implications, amongst many more, were that the *status quo* condition of any American of African heritage was to be perpetuated, and that in the end, Garvey only envisioned an elite number of U.N.I.A. members to emigrate to the promised land, leaving behind a number of followers.

In Albizu Campos arguments, the situation assumes another direction. Albizu is not concerned with Puerto Ricans in the United States. He is articulating a territorial separation between the island and the "empire." Implicit in this territorial separation, through sovereign independence, is the promise of a different economic and juridical regime, with little interest in the transformation of the United States, nor the adoption of the U.S. juridical system. In sum, independence for Albizu Campos, meant a complete redefinition of civil rights for Puerto Rico separate from the U.S.

CHAPTER II

THE OTHER AMERICAN NATIONALISTS: GARVEY AND ALBIZU CAMPOS

Introduction

This chapter begins by providing a brief chronology of the life and events in which Marcus Garvey and Pedro Albizu Campos were engaged. The idea is to further provide a historical context in which we can situate both nationalist leaders, and more especially to demarcate some of the public influences which shaped their ideologies. Following these two chronologies I will outline the ideas, present in their ideologies, which I am interested in clarifying as well as problematizing through a critical reading of Marcus Garvey's Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey as well as Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, A Centennial Companion to The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, and Pedro Albizu Campos' Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas.

Marcus Garvey, 1887-1940

Born to descendants of escaped African slaves(Maroons), "in the quiet little town of St. Ann's Bay, on the northern coast of Jamaica, on August 17, 1887, nearly four hundred years after Christopher Columbus had first taken note of that garden-like harbor by marking it on his charts as 'Santa Gloria'," ¹³ Marcus Garvey was to become one of the most important nationalist leaders and organizers of the black/African-American communities around the world during the turn of the century. Growing up in

¹³David E. Cronon, Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, with a forward by John Hope Franklin (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955/1959), pp. 4-5.

“a small-scale peasant farming” community, and having a father who was not only a “skilled tradesman, a stonemason,” but also a well read individual with a private library¹⁴, Garvey developed an early sense of the world outside of his village. Having received a unique elementary education, “supplemented by private tutors and Sunday school,” Garvey became a skilled printer and moved out of his community, at the age of sixteen, on to Kingston, where he became “the youngest foreman printer” in the city.¹⁵ This experience was to be of great importance, for Garvey’s movement relied a great deal on propaganda. More importantly, Garvey’s movement traveled throughout the world by way of his journals and other forms of printed media.

However, by 1907, partly in response to the marginalized social and economic conditions which workers faced, namely low wages, a scarcity of commodities, and a decrease of the purchasing power, the Printers’ Union organized a general strike.¹⁶ Having joined in as a leader of the strike, “Garvey worked energetically at organizing public meetings in favor of the workers,”¹⁷ which eventually cost him his position. Having become somewhat of a local labor martyr Garvey moved to work for the government. It is perhaps this experience which further pushed him into the local political and intellectual life of Kingston. Thus, as Tony Martin suggests, by “1909 his political involvement had brought him into the National Club organized by a lawyer and legislative council member, Sandy Cox.”¹⁸ Soon after, he was elected “one of the

¹⁴Tony Martin, Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 4.

¹⁵Tony Martin, Race First, p. 4.

¹⁶Cronon, p. 13.

¹⁷Cronon, p. 13.

¹⁸Martin, Race First, p. 4.

assistant secretaries of this club, which sought to combat privilege and evils of British colonialism on the island.”¹⁹

By 1910, Garvey had joined the United Fruit Company, and worked as a timekeeper. He was sent to Costa Rica to work on the banana plantations. Shortly after arriving, he became the editor of a local paper, *La Nación*, and further joined protests against the poor treatment of West Indian workers. Much like in Jamaica, Garvey takes on the struggle for black workers who were given unfair wages, and were subjected to terrible working conditions. Needless to say, having been arrested, and possibly expelled from the country, Garvey continued “to wander through Latin America, going to such places as Panamá and Ecuador where West Indian workers had migrated in large numbers in search of work.”²⁰ Throughout his travels, Garvey further became involved in the organization of workers, perhaps even setting the foundations for what was later to become his international Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Garvey returned to Jamaica on 1911, to leave for England by 1912, where he continues to contrast his experiences as a subject of the colonies in relation to the empire. During this time Garvey “attends classes at Birbeck College, London; (and) published “The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization: History Making by Colonial Negroes” in Duse Mohammed Ali’s *African Times and Orient Review*.”²¹ Working for the *Review* gave Garvey a unique opportunity to further hear the testimonies of other subjects of the British empire as well as to attune his “knowledge of the worldwide sufferings of black people,” while being immersed in a journal which “combined a Pan-African outlook with wide coverage of the Middle and Far Eastern nationalist struggles, and indeed all anti colonial struggles”²²

¹⁹Martin, *Race First*, p. 4.

²⁰Martin, *Race First*, p. 5.

²¹Hill, *Marcus Garvey*, p. lxiii.

²²Martin, *Race First*, p. 6.

Having traveled throughout Europe, and actually running out of money, Garvey returned to Jamaica on July 15, 1914, where “five days later” he proceeded to found the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Conservation Association and the African Communities Imperial League. This movement, which later became the epitome of Garvey’s nationalism, was intended to serve as the founding institution and ideological vanguard of his movement. He also published a pamphlet entitled *A Talk with Afro-West Indians: The Negro Race and Its Problems*.²³ Moreover, Garvey began to organize a fundraising lecture tour, and after writing to Booker T. Washington, who offered some support, he started planning a trip to visit the Tuskegee Institute.

Unable to meet with Booker T. Washington, who died on 1915, Garvey leaves Jamaica for New York City on 1916, where he “holds his first public lecture in St. Mark’s Church Hall.” This same year he “embarks on (a) year long speaking tour of thirty-eight states.”²⁴ Upon the completion of this “whirlwind tour” Garvey returns to New York, where he subsequently establishes a home base in Harlem. Arguably, Harlem was one of the major Mecca for the recruitment of supporters. Thus as Tony Martin claims:

Harlem, only recently converted into the black section of New York, was already the virtual capital of the black world. Its population, composed in the vast majority of southern and West Indian-born immigrants, was possessed of a rare vitality, containing as it did a high proportion of radicals of all types and a large number of outstanding black creative artists.²⁵

By 1917, the “Harlem intellectual Hubert Harrison invited Garvey to address a mass meeting attended by two thousand held at the Bethel AME Church for the purpose of

²³Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxiv.

²⁴Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxiv.

²⁵Martin, Race First, p. 9.

organizing Harrison's Liberty League." Aided by the "tremendous success" of his speech, he begins to organize weekly meetings on his own.²⁶

On 1918, the U.N.I.A. formed (and incorporated as a business corporation) its first branch in New York. This year also marks beginnings of the publication of the *Negro World*, which became one of the most "widely circulated of race papers and the bane of European colonialists."²⁷ Moreover, the U.N.I.A. officially consolidates itself with the writing of the *Constitution and Book of Laws*.

"By 1919 Garvey was already firmly established as one of Harlem's most important radical figures. And it is during this year that his fame spread over the globe."²⁸ In June of that year Garvey incorporates the Black Star Line(BSL) in Delaware, purchases S.S. *Yarmouth*, and opens offices at 54-56 West 135th St. in Harlem. The U.N.I.A. also establishes Liberty Hall in Harlem. Furthermore, while "Garveyites were (being) blamed by colonial authorities for anti white riots in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Honduras"²⁹ the *Negro World* was being banned throughout the Caribbean and Central America.³⁰

But, more importantly, it is during this period that the United States Attorney General "requests (the) commissioner general of immigration to investigate Garvey in regard to institution of deportation proceedings."³¹ Moreover, even after the Bureau of

²⁶Martin, Race First, p. 9-10.

²⁷Martin, Race First, p. 10.

²⁸Martin, Race First, p. 11.

²⁹Martin, Race First, p. 12.

³⁰Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxiv.

³¹Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxiv.

Investigation of the Department of Justice places Garvey under surveillance, George Tyler wounds Garvey twice in an attempt to assassinate him.³²

The year 1920 is very important in the life of Garvey, for it further consolidates the economic branch of the U.N.I.A., and Garvey is elected provisional leader of Africa. Aside from the additional (BSL) purchase of two ships, the S.S. *Shadyside* and the S.S. *Kanawha*, the U.N.I.A. incorporates, in New York the Negro Factories Corporation. Although, the U.N.I.A. had some economic ventures as early as 1918, this Corporation assumed the management of a “number of U.N.I.A. businesses, including laundries, restaurants, a doll factory, tailoring and millinery establishments and a printing press.”³³

Moreover, “(t)he year 1920 witnessed the First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, organized by Garvey.”³⁴ Held in Madison Square Garden (and later moved to Liberty Hall), New York, the first U.N.I.A. International Convention adopted the U.N.I.A. Declaration of Rights of the Negro peoples of the World; established the Liberian Construction Loan; and launched a colonization plan. The latter project was aimed at developing an infrastructure within the Liberian nation, that would enable Garvey to eventually resettle a group of his most devoted and talented followers in Liberia. What is further interesting, is that in addition to Garvey’s election, several others “were elected leaders of various parts of the black world.”³⁵ He also sues for the annulment of his marriage to Amy Ashwood, his former secretary, whom he had married the year before.

³²Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxiv.

³³Martin, Race First, p. 13.

³⁴Martin, Race First, p. 12.

³⁵Martin, Race First, p. 13.

“By 1921 Garvey was unquestionably the leader of the largest organization of its type in the history of the race. He had succeeded as no one else had in gathering up the world wide feelings of dismay at the loss of independence and defiance against colonialism and oppression, which characterized the ‘New Negro’ spirit of the age.”³⁶ During this year the U.N.I.A., which boasted 859³⁷ branches around the world, met with Liberian President C.D.B. King and subsequently sent a delegation to Liberia.

Garvey, also, begins a tour of the Caribbean and Central America, which almost resulted in his permanent exile from the United States. For while Garvey was recruiting new members throughout, the State Department had instructed the American consuls to deny Garvey a visa to reenter the U.S. This decision was later reversed, and Garvey was permitted to return to New York where a month later the U.N.I.A. held its Second International Convention.³⁸ To be sure this is an important period in Garvey’s life, for by this time, as Tony Martin suggests:

Garvey’s unparalleled success had the effect of arraying against him a most powerful conglomeration of hostile forces. The United States government was against him because they considered all black radicals subversive; Europeans governments were against him because he was a threat to the stability of their colonies; the communists were against him because he successfully kept black workers out of their grasp; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other integrationist organizations were against him because he argued that white segregationists were the true spokesmen for white America and because he in turn advocated black separatism. His organization also had to contend with unscrupulous opportunists who were not above sabotaging its workings for personal gain.³⁹

On January 12, 1921, Garvey is arrested and indicted by a federal grand jury on February 15. Having been accused of mail fraud, in connection with the sales of stock

³⁶Martin, Race First, p. 13.

³⁷According to Tony Martin, as “of August 1, 1921, the UNIA contained 418 chartered divisions (up from 95 a year earlier) plus 422 not yet chartered. There were in addition 19 chapters (none the previous year)...”. See *Negro World*, August 1921 in Martin, Race First, p. 13.

³⁸Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxxv.

³⁹Martin, Race First, p. 13.

for the Black Star Line and other U.N.I.A. investments,⁴⁰ he is later released on bail. Soon after, Garvey embarks on a nationwide speaking tour for the U.N.I.A. It was also the same year that he meet with the Ku Klux Klan's (KKK) Acting Imperial Wizard Edward Young Clarke in Atlanta in order to come into some mutually beneficial arrangements. The idea was to use the KKK's hatred against blacks as a further incentive, alliance, and support structure to further enable the African migrationist protect. On a different note the U.N.I.A. sends a delegation to the League of Nations petitioning for the transferring of sovereignty of the former German colonies, in order to turn them into a sanctuary for the African diaspora. In addition the U.N.I.A. begins to publish the *Daily Negro Times*, as well as holding the Third U.N.I.A. International Convention.⁴¹

On May 18, 1923, after "Chandler Owen and seven other black leaders urge Garvey's deportation in (a) letter to Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, Garvey is brought on charges for mail fraud. He is subsequently sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and incarcerated for three months in Tombs Prison, New York. Soon after he is released on bail, Garvey visits the Tuskegee Institute. Around this time the UNIA delegation to Liberia, which had settled an agreement with President Charles D.B. King for the eventual emigration of between twenty and thirty thousand families⁴², leaves for Monrovia.⁴³ it is also in this year in which Amy Jaques Garvey, Garvey's second wife, publishes the first volume of Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.

⁴⁰Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 77-92.

⁴¹It is important to mentioned that on 1922 the Rev. J.W.H. Eason is impeached by the UNIA, and forms a rival Universal Negro Alliance. He is later assassinated in 1923 (Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxx).

⁴²Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 124-33.

⁴³Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxx.

The following year Amy Jaques Garvey becomes associate editor of the *Negro World*, adding a Spanish, French and woman's section. Moreover, Garvey, perhaps responding to the bankruptcy of the Black Star Line, founds a new shipping corporation, the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. The U.N.I.A. also holds its fourth annual International Convention, as well as endorsing the presidential candidacy of Calvin Coolidge.

After enjoying what was to become his last full year as a free man in the United States, Garvey is convicted on mail fraud charges after the U.S. Court of Appeals reaffirms the charges on February 3, 1925. He is imprisoned in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on February 8, leaving Amy Jaques Garvey as the unofficial representative of U.N.I.A. affairs.⁴⁴ She subsequently publishes the second volume of Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.

While in jail, Garvey establishes correspondence with Ernest Sevier Cox, the acting president of White America Society. He further endorses John Powell, the president of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs, to speak at Liberty Hall with the express intent of demonstrating a "white" support for his program. More importantly Garvey was trying to recruit support for his cause by playing on white racism. Moreover, this same year writes the text "African Fundamentalism," and his application for pardon is denied. It was also during this year that Liberty Hall, perhaps one of U.N.I.A.'s most important assets and institutional links to Harlem, is mortgaged.

The following year, while Garvey is still imprisoned, the U.N.I.A. holds a special convention in Detroit, Michigan. Fred A. Toote presides, and the officers loyal to Garvey are elected, perhaps in an efforts to consolidate the organization in light of the mounting opposition enacted by the rival U.N.I.A., Inc. Yet, more importantly, it is

⁴⁴Hill, Marcus Garvey, pp. lxv-lxvi.

the purchase of the Small-Corey Industrial Institute, located in Claremont, Va., which the U.N.I.A. renamed as Liberty University.⁴⁵

By 1927, Toote resigns his post as President of the U.N.I.A., and Garvey makes E.B. Knox his personal representative in the U.N.I.A. On November, 18, President Calvin Coolidge, whom Garvey had endorsed on during 1923, commutes his sentence. However, by December 10, Garvey was addressing a crowd of people at Ward Theater in Kingston, Jamaica, having been recently deported from the United States. Liberty Hall is subsequently sold at an auction in New York.⁴⁶

In 1928 Garvey renews his travels through Europe, and continues a speaking tour through Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany. Along the way he travels to Geneva and presents a renewed petition, on behalf of U.N.I.A., to the League of Nations, asking for some colonies in Africa to relinquish their rule over to the Africans.⁴⁷ Later on he decides to return to Jamaica, making a stop over in Canada where he is briefly detained. Upon his return to Jamaica, Garvey forms and presides over the People's Political Party.

By 1929 Garvey had purchased Edelweiss Park as Jamaican headquarters for the separate U.N.I.A. faction, which was subsequently renamed the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L. of the World. This year effectively institutionalized the break between the United States-based movement and the Jamaican-based wing. Furthermore, Garvey, through the newly formed organization, manages to sponsor the Sixth Annual International Convention, held in Kingston. Most notably, however, is the establishment of the Blackman Printing and Publishing Co., which further enables the daily publication of the *Blackman* newspaper.

⁴⁵Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxvi.

⁴⁶Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxvi.

⁴⁷Cronon, Black Moses, p. 148.

Within this period, namely between August 1928 and the end of the year, Garvey is again imprisoned for three months, by British judges, on contempt of court charges. While in jail he was elected for the Kingston and St. Andrews Corporation (KSAC) council. "Upon his release the corporation promptly declared his seat vacant, but he was returned unopposed early in 1930." Some time after, Tony Martin further suggests, "British judges convicted him again, this time for supposedly libeling British colonialism in an editorial in his *Blackman* newspaper."⁴⁸

In 1931 the *Blackman* ceases publication, and Garvey sets sail for England and Geneva. During this year he is again elected as a member of Kingston and St. Andrews Corp. Upon his return to Jamaica, Garvey further organizes the Edelweiss Amusement Co., hosting shows, plays, and concerts.⁴⁹

1932 and 1933 are relatively uneventful years in the life of Marcus Garvey. In 1931 the rival Parent Body of U.N.I.A., Inc., headed by Lionel Francis, holds a convention in New York; Garvey begins the publication of an evening newspaper named the *New Jamaican*. However, by 1932 the machinery of the Blackman Printing and Publishing Co. is seized for debts; the publication of the *New Jamaican* comes to an end; a new monthly magazine, named the *Black Man*, begins; and the regular publication of the *Negro World* ceases in New York.⁵⁰

By contrast, 1934 begins to mark another major transition, and perhaps the last one in Marcus Garvey's life. This year the U.N.I.A. holds its Seventh Annual International Convention at Edelweiss Park, where soon after Garvey announces his plans to move the U.N.I.A. headquarters to London. Edelweiss Park is further "placed under foreclosure and sold at a public auction."⁵¹

⁴⁸Martin, *Race First*, p. 18.

⁴⁹Hill, *Marcus Garvey*, p. lxvii.

⁵⁰Hill, *Marcus Garvey*, p. lxvii.

⁵¹Hill, *Marcus Garvey*, p. lxvii.

Upon relocation in England, in 1935, Garvey publishes a new edition of *The Tragedy of White Injustice*. However, more importantly, and perhaps cementing Garvey's decline in the public realm, was his denouncing of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, along with his opposition to the U.N.I.A. members in the "New York-based Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia"⁵² involvement in the support of Haile Selassie, because of the existing coalition ties with members of the Communist party.⁵³ Indeed in on 1936, Garvey began to publish a series of "negative editorials on Haile Selassie and his policies," which among other things accused Selassie of "lack of identification with fellow blacks and of being 'visionless and disloyal to his country'"⁵⁴

During this year he also travels to Toronto, Canada, where he presides over the U.N.I.A.'s regional Conference and mounts campaign to condemn "such plays and motion pictures as *Green Pastures*, *Imitation of Life*, and *Emperor Jones*, as part of 'an international conspiracy to disparage and crush the aspirations of Negroes toward a higher culture and civilization and to impress upon them their inferiority.'"⁵⁵

In 1937, after presiding over another regional conference in Toronto, Garvey organizes the School of African Philosophy, which among other things would "train interested Negroes for world leadership in the Universal Negro Improvement Association."⁵⁶ More especially this school intended to carry high school graduates

⁵²Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxvii.

⁵³Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 162-63.

⁵⁴Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxvii.

⁵⁵Cronon, Black Moses, p. 163.

⁵⁶Cronon, Black Moses, p. 163.

“through a rigorous course of instruction covering ‘a range of over forty-two subjects touching vitally every phase of human life.’”⁵⁷ Having established this School, which would subsequently, in 1938, announce the availability of lessons through correspondence, Garvey embarks on a speaking tour throughout the Eastern Caribbean, engaging the “enthusiastic audiences in St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Monserratt, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbados, Trinidad, and British Guyana.”⁵⁸ He later returns to England where he is “heckled at Speakers’ Corner in Hyde Park for his views on the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict.”⁵⁹

1938 is another peculiar year in the life of Garvey. On this year the U.N.I.A., Inc. of New York, Garvey’s former organization wins a legal battle for the rights of a very lucrative bequest which Isaiah Morter, a wealthy plantation owner from Belize, had bequeathed to Garvey’s organization prior to its split, and denies the U.N.I.A. of the World the rights to the lucrative inheritance.⁶⁰ Garvey also presides over a third convention in Toronto, where U.N.I.A. passes a resolution of support for the Greater Liberia bill sponsored by Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi. He further endorses this bill a year later in the *Black Man*, the same year in which George Gordon Battle, Garvey’s lawyer at the time, “files an application for a presidential pardon for Garvey.”⁶¹

Garvey’s life came to an abrupt end in 1940. After suffering a cerebral hemorrhage in January, which left him partially paralyzed, and suffering a “second cerebral hemorrhage and/or cardiac arrest,” Garvey dies in London, England on June 10, 1940.

⁵⁷Please refer to the *Black Man*, II (December, 1937), pp. 4-5, in Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 163-164.

⁵⁸Martin, Race First, p. 19.

⁵⁹Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxviii.

⁶⁰Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 164-65.

⁶¹Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxviii.

He is buried in St. Mary's Roman Catholic cemetery, in Bethnal Green London, and later reentered at the Marcus Garvey Memorial in Kingston, Jamaica, upon his consecration as Jamaica's first national hero in 1964.⁶²

Pedro Albizu Campos, 1891-1965

Pedro Albizu Campos was born on September 12, 1891, on the southern part of the island of Puerto Rico in the *barrio Tenerias*, of Machuelo Abajo in Ponce. Born out of "wedlock" to a freed slave, named Juliana Campos y Campos, and the son of a wealthy Basque, Alejandro Albizu y Romero, Pedro Albizu Campos grew up in an impoverished neighborhood established by freed slaves after the abolition of slavery.⁶³ At the time freed slaves, and for the most part wage earners were forced to live in semi rural areas at the margins of the town or the city. Not having been recognized by his father, and becoming an orphan at a very young age, Albizu Campos is raised by a maternal aunt, argues Marisa Rosado, in "an environment of absolute poverty."⁶⁴

It is not until he turns twelve, and perhaps as a result of peer pressure, that Albizu Campos decides to enroll in school, where he completes his degrees, first through eighth grade, in four and a half years. For the most part, children were encouraged to join the labor force at a very early age, and often time they were discouraged from pursuing any academic endeavors. However, regarded as "a child prodigy," Albizu continues to pursue a High School diploma, which he completes within three years, and graduating by 1912. That same year, having received a Masonic scholarship to pursue further academic endeavors in the United States, Albizu begins his first year at the University of Vermont, in the Engineering Department, at twenty-one years of age.⁶⁵

⁶²Hill, Marcus Garvey, p. lxviii.

⁶³Marisa Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, acercamiento a una biografía de Pedro Albizu Campos (Republica Dominicana: Editora Corripio, C. por A., 1992), pp. 11-20.

⁶⁴Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, p. 4.

⁶⁵Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 21-8.

However, by 1913, and primarily as the result of Prof. Robert D. Thompson's⁶⁶ encouragement Albizu transfers over to Harvard University where he receives his Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy and Letters and a corresponding degree of Chemical Engineering in 1916. This is an important period in the formation of Albizu's life, for during his stay at Harvard, Albizu Campos became a very involved member of the International Polity Club, the Cosmopolitan Club, the Boylston Chemical Club, the American Chemical Society, the League to Enforce Peace, and the Speakers Club. He was also the founder of the first Chapter of the Knights of Columbus at the University.⁶⁷ Moreover, as Marisa Rosado contends, identifying as a Latin American student, Albizu Campos:

Spoke at various College Street Church American Colonial Policy conferences, on which occasion he spoke of Puerto Rico with the intention of educating his listeners on the problems afflicting the island; in the American Society of Colonial Families, on the assimilation of the immigrant; at the Socialist Club of Boston, on the Monroe Doctrine, and in the Public Opinion Club, on the condition of the black race in Latin America.⁶⁸

On September 25, 1916, Albizu enters the Harvard University Law School. Soon after he joins the first Reserve Officers Training Camp (R.O.T.C.), which at the time was being organized by the French Legion, under Colonel Paul Azac. By 1917, having completed his first year of Law School and enrolling on his second year, Albizu volunteers to serve in the infantry. He asks permission to mobilize a Puerto Rican force, where he is subsequently sent to organize a company of two hundred volunteers, known as the "Home Guard" in *La Playa de Ponce*. Albizu is commissioned to a rank of First Lieutenant by 1918, shortly before the signing of the armistice of World War I. To be sure in 1919 he receives a cable-gram sent by the President of the Cosmopolitan

⁶⁶Then Chair of the Electrical Engineering Department at the University of Vermont.

⁶⁷Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 28-9.

⁶⁸Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, p. 29.

Club at Harvard, informing him that he had been chosen to be a member of a student delegation to the International Peace Conference at Versailles. In an attempt to meet the student delegation in Boston, Albizu is forced to travel through Southern states of the US, where having been a witness to the “inhuman treatment and discrimination against blacks, he later declared that ‘That was the only time where I was sorry I was not armed.’”⁶⁹

Albizu reconvened his studies on September 27, 1919 at the Harvard Law School. By this time he became involved with Ghandi’s Indian revolution, where he articulated his preference for the resolution of the Indian independence along the same lines of M. Tylak. During this time, Albizu further became involved in the solidarity movements emerging in support to the Irish liberation struggles.

In 1920, Albizu meets Laura Emilia Meneses del Carpio, which as Marisa Rosado contends, was the first Hispanic American woman to be admitted to Radcliff College. To be sure, as Rosado further suggests, Laura, a Doctor in Natural Sciences from the University of San Marcos, Peru, was the daughter of Colonel Juan Rosa Meneses Pino, a high ranking officer in the Peruvian military. This was to be of major importance for Albizu, since these family connections were to eventually recruit financial support from other Peruvian and South American individuals. They are married on July of 1922.⁷⁰

On June 23, 1921, upon completion of his last year in law school Albizu Campos returns to the island of Puerto Rico without his diploma. As his wife was later to assert, Albizu, an accomplished student, had been a victim of the racial prejudices of a professor and was subsequently failed in his class.⁷¹ However, by 1923, Albizu, lacking financial resources, manages to have his exams sent to the island, and be

⁶⁹Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 32-5.

⁷⁰Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 39-40.

⁷¹Laura de Albizu Campos, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos y la independencia de Puerto Rico (San Juan: El Partido Nacionalista, 1961), p. 22.

administered by a local judge named John A. Torres. By February of 1924, the Puerto Rican Supreme Court notifies Albizu that he is eligible to take the Court's oath and practice law in the island.⁷²

On October 3, 1922, Albizu Campos became a member of the *Partido Unión* (Unionist Party). This political Party, founded in 1904, had been the only political party, established after 1898, which included the independence option in its platform. For the most part it articulated a liberal platform of negotiation and cooperation with the United States. The other major parties of the period were the Republican Party, which for the most part defended an annexationist position, and the Socialist Party, which defended a union with some of the more progressive movements in the United States. The latter sought to establish greater ties with the North American labor movements. Ironically, Albizu, who had articulated his nationalist interests during his stay in Harvard, had not joined the Nationalist party which was officially formed on September 17, of that same year. He felt that at the time, this party was a forum for elite intellectuals and cultural nationalists to discuss academic issues as opposed to taking a stance and action against the blatant repression which was being espoused on the population. It is not until May 12, 1924 that Albizu, disenchanted with the annexationist politics of the Party, joins the Nationalist Party, a week later being elected to the position of vice-president.⁷³ By November of that same year Albizu Campos, running on the Nationalist Party ballot, campaigned for a seat in the island's Congress on behalf of the twenty-first Precinct of Ponce.

Having lost in the 1924 elections, Albizu continued to campaign for the Puerto Rican independence movement, radically challenging the traditional discourses, by attacking the Anglo-American imperialism. In 1925, the Nationalist Party assembly

⁷²Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 37-9.

⁷³Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 57-65.

commissions Albizu to travel throughout Latin America, in an effort to mobilize support for the nationalist ideal.⁷⁴ While there is a general consensus among Puerto Rican nationalists agreeing that this was a political move to estrange Albizu from the movement and its followers, on the grounds of the Nationalist's own racism, it is also possible to suggest that this was an effort to diffuse some of Albizu's popularity with the people and further lessen the threat of his popularity.

On June 20, 1927, Albizu begins his "peregrination" throughout Latin America. His travels took him to the:

Dominican Republic (June 21-September 10, 1927), Haití (September 11-13, 1927), Cuba (September 16-December 1927), México (December 1927-February 1928), Cuba (February 25-March 1928), Perú (March 1928 - December 1929), and to Venezuela (December of 1929).⁷⁵

For two and one-half months Albizu travels through the Dominican Republic while discussing the Puerto Rican condition and networking with the local intellectuals. Further, during this visit, Albizu founds the *Junta Dominicana Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico* (The Dominican Board Pro Puerto Rican Independence).⁷⁶ With letters of recommendation from Dominican intellectuals, Albizu begins his journey towards Cuba, which at the time was ruled by a ruthless dictator named Gerardo Machado. However, along the way and perhaps by purely accidental reasons, his ship stops in Haiti, which at the time was under U.S. military occupation. As Rosado suggests, not wanting to pass on this opportunity, Albizu decides to visit the home of Mr. Pierre Poulle, the President of the Haitian Nationalist Party. Two days later, having made an anti-U.S. presentation, Albizu leaves for Cuba, with the support of Haiti's intellectual elite.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 70-71.

⁷⁵Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 79.

⁷⁶Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 83-7.

⁷⁷Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 90-91.

In La Habana, Albizu quickly joins the Cuban revolutionary youth, and continues to offer conferences, and discourses on both the Puerto Rican cause, and against Machado's military dictatorship. Much like in the Dominican Republic, Albizu is successful in the development of a *Junta Cubana Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico*. Yet his stay in Cuba was actually cut short do to the imminent visit of the U.S. President Calvin Coolidge, who was scheduled to arrive in the country on January 16, during which time the Sixth Pan American Conference was scheduled to commence.⁷⁸

Having arrived in Mexico, and subsequently spending approximately three months, in a country torn by political and religious schisms, Albizu returns to Cuba, highly discouraged. Aside from the Communist Party, there would be little support from the Mexican people for the Puerto Rican cause.⁷⁹ Upon his return to Cuba, Albizu participates in the Latin Press World Congress, where he not only boycotts the presence of the U.S. Press agencies, such as the United Press International and the Associated Press, but also condemns the imperialist uses of the Press on behalf of the United States political and economic interests.⁸⁰ After his controversial visit to Cuba, Albizu sets sail to Peru, where he is to meet his family. With the exception of a brief tourist visit to Venezuela, Albizu returns to Puerto Rico on January 4, 1930, where on May 11 of that same year, he is elected President of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

The decade of the 1930's was perhaps the most important and controversial period in Don Pedro Albizu Campos' political life. Luis Angel Ferrao points out:

Never before in the colonial history of Puerto Rico was there such an extraordinary combination of conditions and necessary factors to make the claim for independence the only acceptable political alternative for the society in its collectivity, however, it was never so evident the enormous cumulation of unsolved cultural, ethnic, and economic problems which threatened that society and impeded its effective progress towards such an alternative... (moreover)

⁷⁸Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 91-4.

⁷⁹Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 94-5.

⁸⁰Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 95-7.

there has never been, and there will never be, a group of men such as those which composed the Nationalist Party, which would have dedicated themselves to an ideal with so much energy, apostolic sentiment, and spirit of sacrifice....⁸¹

It is during this period that Albizu finds his greatest support. More importantly Albizu appears at a time when politicians could not provide solutions to the general sense of frustration and anger existing against the United States' presence in the island. Albizu emerges as a leader who embraces these frustrations, fears, and anger, and offers an alternative rhetorical solution, namely to engage the enemy on a face to face battle. In other words, aside from the charismatic and oratory strengths of Albizu's personality, it is the idea of standing up and struggling for justice, without fear of death, that further gains Albizu the popular support which he came to enjoy. In a sense Albizu became the hope, the superhero who would save the oppressed. His nationalism was to be the vehicle to glory.

Having spent most of 1930 re-settling in Puerto Rico, Albizu finishes the year by responding to multiple remarks made by former Nationalists, most notably those of the former President of the Nationalist party, José Coll Cuchí, and shaping his juridical definition of Puerto Rican nationalism. Having been trained as a lawyer, Albizu articulates a vision of Puerto Rico which defines its boundaries in legal terms. It is also during this year that the Nationalist Party begins to print Treasury Bonds for the Republic of Puerto Rico, with various denominations ranging from one dollar to \$100.00.⁸²

Along with the distribution of the previously printed Treasury Bonds, 1931, was initiated with preparations for Albizu to participate in the 1932 elections, as a candidate for the Nationalist Party, and President Herbert Hoover's visit to Puerto Rico on March 22. By May 15, 1931, the renowned Mexican writer, José Vasconcelos, Albizu's

⁸¹Luis Angel Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, 1930-1939, (Harrisonburg: Banta Co.: 1990), pp. 15-16.

⁸²Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, p. 109.

longtime friend, accepts a nomination to become a delegate for the Nationalist Party in Europe. Furthermore, Albizu's former Party, the *Partido Unión*, eliminates its annexationist platform and adopts a pro-independence stance. On this year the Nationalist Party begins printing its newspaper *La Nación*.⁸³

On January 30, 1932, the Nationalist Party, Presided by Pedro Albizu Campos, both enrolls in the local elections, and brings to the public light the infamous "Rhoads" Case. The case dealt with a subsequent lawsuit against Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads who, while working as a research fellow for the Rockefeller Foundation and the Puerto Rican Presbyterian Hospital, killed eight and transplanted "cancer into several" of what he called "beyond doubt the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerate and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere," or the Puerto Rican race.⁸⁴ By February the second Vice-President of the Party, Luis Vergne Ortíz, had both protested the participation of the Nationalist Party in the local elections, and had subsequently been expelled by the Party. On April 16, protesting the government's substitution of the Puerto Rican flag for that of the Anglo-American flag, members of the Nationalist Party, took over the local Capitol building in a manner that resulted in the death of a young nationalist and injured eleven other injuries. This incident was recorded as the first act of violence on the part of the Nationalist Party. On June 15, another member of the Party, Luis F. Velázquez "punched" in the face, the Presiding Judge of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court, Hon. Emilio del Toro Cuevas.⁸⁵

After the shocking, yet expected, loss of the Nationalists at the election ballots, Albizu emerges as one of the most controversial public figures in the island. However,

⁸³Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos, pp. 329-330.

⁸⁴Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads to F.W. Stewart, 1931, Pedro I. Aponte Vázquez, Crónica de un encubrimiento, Albizu Campos y el caso Rhoads, (San Juan: Publicaciones René, 1992), pp. 17-8.

⁸⁵*People v. Velázquez*, 296 U.S. 602 (1935).

in 1933 Albizu takes a backseat to the multiple protests which emerged throughout the island, most notably those by the Sugarcane workers, student protesters, and needle makers. This is of critical importance because Albizu never embraces a the labor movements as part of his ideology. In a sense he romanticizes the nationalist as a rural land owner, and ultimately fails to support the more progressive struggles for economic justice. After several unsuccessful attempts to reach some agreements with the large corporations, Albizu is asked to lead the workers on January 12, 1934 into a settlement with the governing agencies. By January 19, after meeting with the Chief of Police Colonel Elisha F. Riggs, Riggs, according to Marisa Rosado, accepts the demands of the Sugarcane workers as modest and legitimate in effect ending the general strike.⁸⁶ On February 5, Blanton Winship is named Governor of the island, by the then U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Roosevelt, who visited the island on July 6, was declared a *persona non grata* by Albizu and the Nationalists at the time.⁸⁷ By August, Ferrao asserts, the Nationalist Party had began to split, most notably in the town of Mayagüez. These ex-nationalist were in part the later founders of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. By contrast the ex-nationalist Luis Vergne Ortíz organizes the Independent Communist Party, under a Trotskyist orientation, by October. On November 4, after some five days of bitter arguments, presumably over the use of a local flag used in the island's first revolutionary movement in 1868, the Nationalist Party and the Puerto Rican Independence Party settle their dispute with a gunfight.⁸⁸

1935 was also a critical year for Albizu. On the one hand, the island's workforce continued to protest the unfair treatment and low wages which they received, on the other, the Nationalist Party began to fracture. While some members of the discouraged

⁸⁶Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 117-122.

⁸⁷Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 123.

⁸⁸Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos, pp. 332-33.

at the direction which the Party was taking, accused Albizu Campos of being among other things a “terrorist,” “womanizer,” “thief,” “resentful blackman,” and a “fanatic,” to such an extent that some feared for Albizu’s life, while others maintained their loyalties.⁸⁹ What is certain about this period, is that the Nationalist Party continued to split, and several leaders were ultimately expelled from the Party. On November 19, *La Palabra*, another Nationalist paper begins publication.

Yet on October 24, perhaps overshadowing this whole year, some Insular Police murdered a group of nationalist who were leaving the University of Puerto Rico. This event, known as the Massacre of Rio Piedras, set the tone for the next period of Albizu’s political life. It is at this point that Albizu nationalism is equated with the violence. For public, perhaps propagandist purposes, this confrontation became an act of war. On October 28, Colonel Riggs the Insular Chief of Police, publicly declared war on the nationalists. Subsequently, the only surviving nationalist, Dionisio Pearson, who had been accused of murder, attempted murder, and violation of the weapons and explosives laws, defended in Court by Albizu himself, was absolved and found innocent by a jury.⁹⁰

On February 23, 1936, in San Juan, the young nationalists, Hiram Rosado and Elías Beauchamp, executed Colonel Riggs. They are subsequently murdered inside the local Police headquarters. In Utuado, another town close to the center of the island, that same day, police officers shot a various nationalists, killing Angel Mario Rodríguez. Moreover, the printing house of *La Palabra*, is further closed and searched.⁹¹ On March 4, Rosado argues, Albizu presented himself in Court to defend himself against rumored allegations that he has being indicted. While he was sent home on that day, the

⁸⁹Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 124-25.

⁹⁰Rosado, *Las llamas en la aurora*, pp. 128-130.

⁹¹Ferrao, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, pp. 334-35.

following day, March 5, 1936, Albizu is brought up on charges by the United States District Court in Puerto Rico. The articles of law in violation were the following: Section 6: Seditious Conspiracy; Section 7: Recruitment for the Service against the United States; and Section 88: Conspiracy to commit crimes against the United States.⁹² By March 31, Albizu testifies in front of a federal Grand Jury, a body who subsequently finds probable cause against the Nationalist Party leadership on April 3.

Meanwhile, on April 22, according to Ferrao, six police officers are accused of the murder of Hiram Rosado and Elías Beauchamp by a Grand Jury. Moreover, the following day, on April 24, U.S. Senator Millard E. Tydings presented Congress with a Bill calling for Puerto Rican independence if the people chose so by way of referendum. In addition, Rafael Martínez Nadal, Chief of the Puerto Rican Republican Party, the local annexationist Party, encourages the local populace to vote for independence in the event that there is a referendum.⁹³

During the month of May of the same year there are multiple demonstrations and political protests throughout San Juan's public schools. According to Ferrao on May 14, the Government activated the National Guard, so as to placate these disturbances.⁹⁴ By contrast multiple intellectuals from around the world are writing letters in support of the Puerto Rican independence, and are protesting the incarceration of the Nationalist Party leadership. Even the more conservative local opponents of Albizu and the Nationalist Party, Antonio R. Barceló and Rafael Martínez Nadal, Ferrao contends, wrote a letter to President F.D. Roosevelt petitioning the liberation of the nationalist leadership.⁹⁵

⁹²Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, p. 142.

⁹³Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos, p. 335.

⁹⁴Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos, p. 335-36.

⁹⁵Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos, p. 336.

The first trial against Albizu Campos, and the nationalists Juan Antonio Corretjer, Luis F. Velázquez, Julio H. Velázquez, Rafael Ortíz Pacheco, Clemente Soto Vélez, Juan Gallardo Santiago, and Pablo Rosado Ortíz, began on June 14, 1936. Three days later the Jury announced to the Court that the seven Puerto Rican members, who voted for complete absolution of the charged, and the five Anglo-Americans, who passed a guilty verdict, could not come into an agreement. A new trial was set for the 27 of July, this time, as Rockwell Kent testified, the jury, composed of ten Anglo-Americans and two Puerto Ricans with strong economic interests in the government's success, the jury unanimously declared Albizu Campos and the nationalist leadership, guilty of the latter violations of the law.⁹⁶ On July 31, Albizu was sentenced to serve from six to ten years.

By August 9, the nationalists had organized the National Congress Pro-Liberation of Political Prisoners. Subsequently, the Nationalist Party and its supporters, in solidarity of Albizu and the other nationalist leaders, carried out a peaceful demonstration in the southern town of Ponce. On March 2, as soon as the protesters began to march, the police opened fire upon the protesters, murdering nineteen and injuring over two-hundred Puerto Ricans. This event, in the words of the American Civil Liberties Union investigator, Arthur Garfield Hays, became known as the Ponce Massacre. As a direct result, Albizu was immediately transferred to a Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, where he spent six long years in relative seclusion.⁹⁷

Having refused to leave on parole on November 15, 1941, on the grounds that he would neither recognize the authority of the U.S. Department of Justice, nor would he compromise his dignity, Albizu finished his time in Atlanta.⁹⁸ On June 3, 1943, Pedro

⁹⁶Rockwell Kent to Henry F. Ashurst, President of the United States Senate Judiciary Committee, May 21, 1939, Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, p. 175.

⁹⁷Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, pp. 158-168.

⁹⁸Pedro I. Aponte Vázquez, Pedro Albizu Campos, Su persecución por el E.B.I., (San Juan: Publicaciones René, 1991), p. 32.

Albizu Campos and Luis F. Velázquez were freed from jail. Albizu, however, was required to spend four more years on probation, in the U.S. Partly due to his anemia and pulmonary tuberculosis⁹⁹, and partly as a result of political demands, and ultimately as a condition of his parole, Albizu spends the next four years in Columbus Hospital, New York. During this time Albizu further recuperates from his multiple illnesses, and partially begins to re-organize his political movement.¹⁰⁰

Ten years after his exile from the island, Pedro Albizu Campos returns to Puerto Rico, on December 15, 1947, to receive, what Marisa Rosado has called, one of the greatest and largest receptions in the history of the island.¹⁰¹ Between 1947 and 1950, Albizu spent most of his time campaigning against the colonial conditions to which Puerto Ricans were being debased. It is also around this time, that a former *independentista*, Luis Muñoz Marín is crafting and successfully organizing a “new” political agreement with Washington. Thus, by July 3, 1950, President Harry S. Truman signs Public Law 81-600,¹⁰² which upon the approval of a Puerto Rican elected Constitutional body in 1952, would grant the island the status of what Puerto Ricans have termed a “Free-Associated-State.”¹⁰³ In response to this move, Albizu calls for the people to challenge the despotic rule of the empire, yet, as Aponte Vázquez contends, it is the government’s arrest of four of Albizu’s bodyguards, which initiates what was to become the revolution of 1950.¹⁰⁴ More than anything, this insurrection,

⁹⁹Aponte Vázquez, Su persecución por el F.B.I., p. 27.

¹⁰⁰Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, p. 173.

¹⁰¹Rosado, Las llamas en la aurora, p. 179.

¹⁰²Public Law No 81-600, 64 Stat. 319 (July 3, 1950).

¹⁰³Constitution of the Free-Associated-State of Puerto Rico, Resolution #23, 1952.

¹⁰⁴Pedro Aponte Vázquez, ed., El ataque nacionalista a la Fortaleza, testimonios anotados del único comando sobreviviente, (San Juan: Publicaciones René, 1993), p. 7.

which occurred between October 29 and the 31, consisted in a gunfight at Albizu's home, a nationalist attack at the governor's home, and the armed resistance of nationalist, from around the island, to the police and national guard's attempts to arrest. On November 1, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torressola, made an attempt at President Truman's life, in Washington D.C., by attacking the Blair House.¹⁰⁵

Albizu is arrested on November 14, 1950 and placed in solitary confinement until May 18, 1951. He is removed from the obscure cell which contained him due to a heart attack, and is later sentenced between twelve and fifty-four years in prison. In his second trial, which lasted from July 30 to August 3, 1951, the jury found him guilty of violation of an 1948 Gag Law, known as Law 53 or *La Mordaza*. Albizu is accused of violating this Law on twelve counts, and twelve occasions, or more specifically in twelve speeches which he made between 1948 and 1950.¹⁰⁶

After two years of confinement, his health had deteriorated to such an extent, that Governor Luis Muñoz Marín fearing that Albizu would become a martyr if he died in jail, indults him on September 30, 1953. However, five months later, on March 1, 1954, and immediately after four Puerto Rican nationalists, Lolita Lebrón Soto, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero, attacked the U.S. house of Representatives in Capitol Hill, Muñoz Marín revokes Albizu's pardon and orders his immediate arrest.

By April of 1956, Albizu suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and became very ill. He could barely talk and he was partially paralyzed. On April 4, he is moved to the Presbyterian Hospital, where he is hospitalized under a critical condition. By

¹⁰⁵William H. Hackett, The Nationalist Party: A Factual Study of the Puerto Rican Insurrectionists Under Albizu Campos, The Blair House Shooting, Various Assassination Attempts, and of the Communist Praise and Support for These Seditiousists, (Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1951), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰⁶Ivonne Acosta, La Mordaza, (Rio Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1987).

November 15, 1964, Muñoz Marín, fearing that Albizu would die in jail, indults Albizu for a second time. On April 21, 1965, Don Pedro Albizu Campos died in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

CHAPTER III

MARCUS GARVEY AND THE IDEAL NATION

Introduction

Commenting on Marcus Garvey's mass based nationalism Wilson Jeremiah Moses suggests that Garvey rather than "creating the black nationalist feeling of the 1920's" simply mobilized the "existing black nationalism that had lain dormant in the black community since Alfred C. Sam's abortive back-to-Africa scheme a few years before" his arrival to the United States.¹⁰⁷ Along the lines of Moses, it is possible to suggest that Garvey becomes a public figure at a time when the dominant rhetoric in Harlem articulated a vision of religious and escapist black nationalism as the most effective solution to the dangers of apartheid, and at a moment during which a significant number of blacks were migrating from the Southern regions of the United States in search for better, safer, and more prosperous living conditions in the promised land, the urban ghetto.¹⁰⁸ Although Garvey's realization of the ideal African nation never materialized, his legacy of self-help nationalism, conservative and problematic as it was, continues to reverberate in contemporary nationalist movements claiming a separate ideological space at the margins of the State and estranging themselves from other traditional civil rights struggles. For instance the Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam continues to perpetuate a "vision for black Americans," along the same lines of "his antecedents

¹⁰⁷Wilson Jeremiah Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth, revised edition, (The Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, 19982/1993), p. 125.

¹⁰⁸Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, pp. 125-128.

(Booker T.) Washington and Marcus Garvey,” that is “authoritarian,” “homophobic, and, like nationalisms everywhere, saturated in patriarchal ideology.”¹⁰⁹

In this chapter I want to problematize Garvey’s nationalist ideology through a reading of his use of symbols and invented traditions, his resulting vision of the nation, and its further relationship to the idea of independence. I will begin with a discussion of the latter three ideas so as to contextualize some of the dangers present in Garvey’s nationalism. Afterwards I will move to conclude with a critique of Garvey’s nationalism paying close attention to the contradictions of his emancipatory rhetoric and the conditioned potential for the success of his movement.

Symbols and Invented Traditions

According to Tony Martin, Marcus Garvey’s social symbols were a sign of the external trappings of nationhood which Garvey fell victim to.¹¹⁰ Martin further asserts, that Garvey used history “to establish a grievance, instill black pride, and point a way for eventual race emancipation, and that was all.”¹¹¹ Accordingly, the use of symbols and history enabled Garvey to claim a legitimate and separate national identity. By contrast, Moses suggests that black messianism in general, Garvey included, is:

the point in our cultural mythology where nationalism and assimilation come together most strikingly. It seemed to me that one of the functions of mythology was to reconcile apparently contradictory or opposing views of reality, permitting those who hold them to retain the logically inconsistent oppositions that are inevitably a part of all human consciousness.¹¹²

In other words, Garvey, positioning himself as a messiah who would lead the black race to an utopian safe place or the promised land of Africa, used myths of history and destiny to not only sustain the logical legitimacy of his ideology, but also to define the

¹⁰⁹Adolph Reed, “Triumph of the Tuskegee Will,” Village Voice, 31 October 1995, p. 35.

¹¹⁰Martin, Race First, pp. 42-43.

¹¹¹Martin, Race First, p. 85.

¹¹²Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. viii.

contours of his nationalism. I would like to contend, that the use of symbols and a particular interpretation of history enabled Garvey to establish a linear continuity between and often mythologized past, a contingent present, and future horizon giving Garvey an ultimate claim to authenticity. The manipulation of symbols and the invention of traditions further enabled Garvey to homogenize an otherwise diverse and romanticized Pan-African diaspora, while further allowing him to invent some social, economic and politically binding national traditions.

The contours of Garvey's nationalist ideology are evident when we consider his use of symbols to invent traditions of patriotic duty. These invented traditions can be territorialized in a reading of five traditions of national patriotic civism which include a heraldic, a historical, a military, a moral, and an economic commitment to the national ideology. In this section, I will consider some examples of the latter five categories as a means to illustrate some of the inherent dangers present in Garvey's ideology. My contention is that through a particular manipulation of civic symbols Garvey invents a nationalist tradition that not only amalgamates often contradictory ideas, but further perpetuates and legitimates some of the very existing hierarchies and oppressive circumstances which he proposes to escape from.

As I have stated earlier Duchesne Winter defines the traditions of heraldic civism, as those which use a national flag, with its accompanying ritual, hymns, monuments, emblems/badges, and colors, among other symbols.¹¹³ Garvey's movement used all of the latter symbols to invent a tradition of heraldic civism. For example, Garvey, argued that:

The flag of the nation is the emblem that signifies the existence of that nation. Have your flag-it is the red, black and green and be proud of it as the emblem of your race. When other nations exhibit theirs, exhibit yours.¹¹⁴

¹¹³Juan Duchesne Winter, "Metafísica narrativa de la nación albizuista," in La nación puertorriqueña, p. 23.

¹¹⁴Garvey, "Lesson 3: Aims and Objectives of the U.N.I.A.," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, p. 213.

Presumably, the flag's official colors,¹¹⁵ Martin notes, signified the color of the blood which men must shed for the redemption and liberty of the race, black standing for the color of the noble and distinguished race to which the all Africans belonged to, and green further signifying the luxuriant vegetation of the African Motherland.¹¹⁶ This flag, Garvey argued, would be the banner under which "400,000,000 black men will march out on the battle plains of Africa, under the colors of the red, the black and the green."¹¹⁷ Garvey further argued for the need to "(m)ake songs about your nations and sing them, write poetry about your nation and read it and recite it... (in fact) Glorify your nation in music and songs."¹¹⁸

The accompanying hymn or anthem of this flag, was a poem written by Burrell and Ford, which was titled "The Universal Ethiopian Anthem." The poem/anthem, or rather battle cry, read as follows:

I
Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,
Thou Land where the gods loved to be,
As storm cloud at night suddenly gathers,
Our armies come rushing to thee.
We must in the fight be victorious,
When swords are thrust outward to gleam;
For us will the vict'ry be glorious
When led by the red, black and green.

Chorus
Advance, advance to victory,
Let Africa be free;
Advance to meet the foe
With the might
Of the red, the black and the green.

¹¹⁵Garvey, "Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 140.

¹¹⁶Martin, Race First, p. 44.

¹¹⁷Garvey, "The Principles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 100.

¹¹⁸Garvey, "Lesson 3: Aims and Objectives of the U.N.I.A.," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, p. 214.

II

Ethiopia, the tyrant's falling
Who smote thee upon thy knees,
And thy children are lustily calling
From over the distant seas.
Jehovah, the Great One has heard us,
Has noted our sights and our tears,
With His spirit of Love he has stirred us
To be One through the coming years.
CHORUS -Advance, advance, etc.

III

O Jehovah, thou God of the ages
Grant unto our sons that lead
The wisdom Though gave to Thy sages
When Israel was sore in need.
Thy voice thro' the dim past has spoken,
Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand,
By Thee shall all fetters be broken,
And Heav'n bless our dear fatherland.
CHORUS-Advance, advance, etc. (sics)¹¹⁹

Moreover, in 1920, Garvey and the UNIA declared this anthem the official “anthem of the Negro race.”¹²⁰ What is of particular interest is the language of patriotic nationalism and war, a language which in one sense conveys a duty to a Crusade for the Holy Land, the mythical Ethiopia. The anthem further weaves a messianic predetermination into Garvey's nationalism, ultimately seeking to legitimate an invented chivalric tradition of honor and duty not only to the “Motherland,” but also the “Great One,” Jehovah, and perhaps his earthly representative, Marcus Garvey.

To complement these traditions, Garvey instituted a number of patriotic orders, which ironically were salaried positions. Aside from being mostly male positions, establishing clear and demarcated power hierarchies, and further signifying a desire to emulate European royal orders, these official positions were designed to instill a sense of duty and loyalty to the nation. These forms of patronage also served as strategies of

¹¹⁹Garvey, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 140-41.

¹²⁰Garvey, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 140.

compensation and rewarding individuals within the UNIA. These orders, or rather salaried positions, included the following:

His Highness, The Potentate.....	\$12,000
His Excellency, The Provisional President of Africa.....	
His Excellency, The President General and Adminis- trator of the U.N.I.A.....	} 10,000
His Excellency, The Leader of the American Negroes.....	10,000
His Highness, The Supreme Deputy Potentate.....	6,000
Hon. Assistant President General.....	6,000
Hon. Secretary General.....	6,000
Hon. High Chancellor.....	6,000
Hon. International Organizer.....	6,000
Hon. Surgeon General.....	7,000
His Excellency, The Leader of the Western Province of the West Indies, South and Central America.....	6,000
His Excellency, The Leader of the Western Province of the West Indies.....	6,000
His Grace, The Chaplain General.....	5,000
Hon. The Auditor General.....	5,000
Hon. Counselor General.....	7,000
Hon. The Assistant Counsel General.....	6,000
Hon. The High Commissioner General.....	4,000
Hon. The Assistant Secretary General.....	4,000
Hon. The Minister of Labor and Industry.....	4,000
Hon. The Minister of the Legion.....	3,000
Hon. The Speaker-in-Convention.....	3,000 ¹²¹

In legitimating his flamboyance and extravagance, Garvey argued that, titles inspired pride in the race and in the nation. These orders signified a responsibility to the nation, in all of their official capacities. Moreover, they served to instill a particular hierarchy of positions which, in Garvey's view, equated his movement to that of any other nation, for it used the same official titles which other nations used. Thus, Garvey argued that:

Any honours they can get from any other race for serving that race, they can get from their own race. Don't waste time, therefore, in that. You can have your own king, your own emperor, your pope, your dukes, your own everything - therefore, don't bow down [to] other races for recognition. (sic)¹²²

¹²¹Garvey, "Salaries to Officers of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 278-279.

¹²²Garvey, "Lesson 3: Aims and Objectives of the U.N.I.A.," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, p. 212.

Accompanying these orders, were particular “garments” which according to Garvey, typified membership in the nation. In general the notions of national honor and pride became an aesthetic qualifier which signified a particular commitment or duty to the nation. The order, with its accompanying garbs, jewels, medals, emblems, colors, and in rituals, served to physically link and commit the body of the UNIA nationalist to a particular ideology and its accompanying power relationships. Ironically, the invention of these traditions, which in a sense sought a distinction, and a separate national identity, ultimately signified Garvey’s failure of escaping the same ideological trappings of his contemporary nationalists. In addition, Garvey’s appropriation of European symbols simply reaffirmed the impossibility to escape a larger metanarrative of nationalist identity. This is not to say that Garvey was necessarily making black people into Europeans, but rather as Moses suggests, “he certainly had more affinity for the pomp and tinsel of European imperialism than he did for black African tribal life, which some earlier black nationalists had praised.”¹²³

In addition, Garvey also invented traditions of historical civism, which in various ways served to commemorate public figures, establish symbolic dates, tell foundational stories, and establish a hierarchical list of founding fathers and heroes. In difference to traditions of heraldic civism, this form of civism paid particular homage to the organic embodiment of the nationalist. In other words, while traditions of heraldic civism dressed, colored, and masked the nationalist body, traditions of historical civism defined the Garveyite. More importantly Garvey used this invention to create a long genealogy of founding fathers and supporters of his movement. In a bizarre sense this manipulation of heroes enabled Garvey to claim that he was fulfilling the millenarian struggle to emancipate the oppressed black peoples of the world, and ultimately deliver

¹²³Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 132.

them to the promised land. In a sense Garvey historicizes his movement as part of a logical struggle with a logical telos, clearly his own logic and his own telos.

An example of Garvey's further use of traditions of historical civism¹²⁴ was the bestowing of honors on particular individuals who were of critical importance to the aims and objectives of the UNIA. This gesture, I believe, was designed to thank the financial contributors to the struggle, which made great donations, and those powerful individuals who further enabled the possibilities for the success of the movement. Two examples of these bestowed honors can be noted in the naming of George Alexander McGuire as Archbishop and Primate of the African Orthodox Church, and the Siring of Isaiah Morter as Knight Commander of the Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia. In the case of Alexander McGuire, Garvey not only acquired a large amount of followers because of his efforts, but also added a messianic legitimacy to his movement through McGuire's voice. In the latter's case, it is clear that the fundamental reason for Garvey's bestowal resulted from Morter's bequeath "to the Universal Negro Improvement Association about \$100,000 in property, for the work of African Redemption."¹²⁵

Not much can be said about Garvey's establishment of symbolic dates other than that he fundamentally discussed two sets of dates. The first and perhaps the most important for Garvey's ideology, were his autobiographical dates, which for the most part were used to present examples of catalytic dates which changed his life. In other words, Garvey uses symbolic dates in his life experience to contextualize the catalytic moments in his life which made him the person who he claimed to be.¹²⁶ These dates

¹²⁴At present I do not have access to any material describing the UNIA's International Conventions and their accompanying rituals which seems quite a fertile place for research on this subject.

¹²⁵Garvey, "A Tribute to the Late Isaiah Morter," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 90.

¹²⁶Garvey, "Autobiography: Articles from the Pittsburgh Courier," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, pp. 33-111.

served to legitimate the individual changes which not only redefined Garvey's world visions and commitments to the struggle, but also served to translate Garvey's ideology to a discursive language with which his followers could identify. An example of this testimony can be seen in his recounting of how he first became aware of his racial identity, or rather as when he was first made aware of the racism which made him different. Thus in Garvey's own words:

To me, at home in my early days, there was no difference between white and black. One of my father's properties, the place where I lived most of the time, was adjoining that of a white man. He had three girls and two boys; the Wesleyan minister, another white man, whose church my parents attended, also had property adjoining ours. He had three girls and one boy. All of us were playmates. We romped and were happy children, playmates together. The little white girl whom I liked most knew no better than I did myself. We were two innocent fools who never dreamed of a race feeling and problem. As a child, I went to school with I went to school with white boys and girls, like all other Negroes. We were not called Negroes then. I never heard the term Negro used once until I was about fourteen.

At fourteen my little white playmate and I parted. Her parents thought the time had come to separate us and draw the color line. They sent her and another sister to Edinburgh Scotland, and told her that she was never to write or try to get in touch with me, for I was a "nigger." It was then that I found for the first time that there was some difference in humanity, and that there were the different races, each having it own separate and distinct social life. I did not care about separation after I was told about it, because never thought all during our childhood association that the girl and the rest of the children of her race were better than I was; in fact, they used to look up to me...

After my first lesson in race distinction, I never thought of playing with white girls any more, even if they might be next door neighbors....¹²⁷

Although this experience was not the only encounter that Garvey had with the multiple social constructions of race that scarred him, it is symptomatic of the very historical condition which other black peoples had undergone. Thus, this experience, at this age, further enabled Garvey to be one with the people, one with the race, and also enabled the "people" to see their own experiences in Garvey's own life experiences.

The other major set of symbolic dates which are worth mentioning, are those regarding the foundational moments of the UNIA. To be sure, these latter dates, more

¹²⁷Garvey, "The Negro's greatest Enemy," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 125.

than anything else, historicized the organization and invented a tradition of active civil participation which in turn could be connected to other past struggles both in the U.S. and around the world. Examples of these can be seen in the foundation of the U.N.I.A., its chapters around the world, deaths of important members, the dates of U.N.I.A. Conventions, and any other date which situates the founding of a U.N.I.A. institution.

By contrast Garvey's use of foundational stories is quite interesting. For Garvey, continuity symbolized the realization of a millenarian redemption of the Pan-African diaspora and the return to Africa, the motherland. An example of this African-centered construction of the founding civilizations can be noted in the following text written by Garvey in the format of a father answering his son's precocious questions:

Son: Were there centers in Africa, father, where civilization was evident?

Father: Yes, my son, Timbuktu, Benin, Alexandria and several other ancient cities were to be found on the fertile banks of the Nile and other great rivers of Africa. In Egypt our civilization reached a high level, and from that civilization Asia borrowed much that it ultimately bequeathed along with us to Europe. Greece was the first European borrower, and it is through Greece that Europe got its civilization which has marched on to the 20th century. White historians will tell you that Egypt was not a black kingdom. That is as true as if 200 years hence someone were to tell you your Great-Great-Great Grandchildren that I was not a Negro. The Egyptians were Negroes. They afterwards became a mixed population, just as how America to-day(sic) is a mixed population, but originally white from the history of settlement. Coloured Egyptians were only the offsprings of miscegenation. The white historians tried to identify these people as the Egyptians, which is not true. The original Egyptians and the leading peoples of Africa were all black, and it is they who impressed their civilization upon Asia, carrying it into India and China, which civilization subsequently took its course through Asia minor into Greece and then into Continental Europe. These are the facts, with the white man's colouring to the contrary.¹²⁸

These arguments were further complemented by the discovery in 1922 of Tutankumen's tomb in the Valley of Tombs near Luxor, by a British archeological team headed by Howard Carter and largely funded by George Edward Stanhope Molyneux, the earl of

¹²⁸Garvey, "A Dialogue: What's the Difference?," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, pp. 160-161.

Carnarvon. What is ironic is that Garvey never describes the bridge uniting this historical development with his present day ideology. In other words, in inventing these foundational stories, Garvey presumes that the race has remained pure since that founding moment, and that hundreds of years of slavery, colonization, exchanges, travels, environmental changes, and a number of other social, political, and economic transformations have not affected the African or rather the negro race. The presumption is that Garvey's contemporaries could identify with these semi-historical and semi-mythologized moments in history, which again ignores the transforming effects of history on the individual or the social constructions of race.

The other major component of Garvey's invention of traditions of historical civism is a hierarchized genealogy of heroes and founding fathers. However, given the nature of Garvey's textualization of his ideology, namely the fact that it is very hard to discern between his theoretical reflections, his propaganda and his "emotional outbursts,"¹²⁹ it is very difficult to recognize who is a hero and a founding father and who is not. Perhaps this is a reflection of "a lack of a regional border or a 'linguistic tradition'."¹³⁰ With the exception of Booker T. Washington, it is quite impossible to discern who Garvey considered to be great men, heroes or founding fathers. For example, Garvey often claimed that:

The time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and to start out immediately, to create and emulate heroes of his own. We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history. Sojourner Truth is worthy of the place of sainthood alongside Joan of Arc; Crispus Attucks and George William Gordon are entitled to the halo of martyrdom with no less glory than that of the martyrs of any other race. Toussaint L' Overture's brilliancy as a soldier and statesman outshone that of a Cromwell, Napoleon and Washington; hence he is entitled to the highest place as a hero among men.¹³¹

¹²⁹Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 135.

¹³⁰Dean Robinson, April 22, 1996

¹³¹Garvey, "African Fundamentalism: A Racial Hierarchy and Empire for Negroes," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 415.

Likewise he repeatedly glorified the accomplishment of multiple presidents such as George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln, as well as a entrepreneurs such as Rhodes, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. Garvey even went so far as to claim that Mr. John Powell, the acting President of the Anglo-Saxon Club, a racist and Aryan group of Americans, was a “great man” because he “represents a body of men and women for whom I maintain the greatest respect because of their honesty and lack of hypocrisy.”¹³²

The two historical figures that do stand out in Garvey’s pantheon of figures, are Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. DuBois. The first was perhaps Garvey’s ideological founding father, and to a great extent the ideological hero of the Garveyite movement, at least in Garvey’s representation of black nationalism. Regarding Booker T. Washington, Garvey repeatedly argued that

The world held up the great Sage of Tuskegee-Booker T. Washington-as the only leader for the race. They looked forward to him and his teachings as the leadership for all times, not calculating that industrially educated Negro would himself evolve a new ideal, after having been trained by the Sage of Tuskegee.

The world satisfied itself to believe that succeeding Negro leaders would follow absolutely the teachings of Washington. Unfortunately the world is having a rude awakening, in that we are evolving a new ideal. The new ideal includes the program of Booker T. Washington and has gone much further. ...His vision was industrial opportunity for the Negro, but the Sage of Tuskegee has passed off the stage of life and left behind a new problem-a problem that must be solved not by the industrial leader only, but by the political and military leaders as well.¹³³

Ironically, although Garvey suggests the need for a political program, he did not advocate any political program which would challenge the condition of the African-American within the United States. On the contrary, along the same lines of Washington, he advocated conformism and accommodation distanced from any form of

¹³²Garvey, “The Ideals of Two Races,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 338.

¹³³Garvey, “Booker T. Washington’s Program,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 56.

social and political struggle. The political was rather something which would happen outside the United States, more particularly in Africa.

By contrast and perhaps of equal importance to Garvey's invention of historical heroes and founding fathers, was the contemporary figure of W.E.B. DuBois. Even though they both shared a similar brand of Ethiopian millenarism, as well as a romanticized and mystical Pan-Africanism, their dogmatism did not allow them to overcome the very same behavior which they criticized each other for.¹³⁴ For Garvey DuBois represented what not to be. In other words DuBois was the antimodel or archenemy of the Garveyite hero. This is important since Garvey attached many identities to the body of DuBois, and devoted quite an amount of time to constructing him as an archenemy of the race.¹³⁵ As a result the figure of DuBois, becomes a sort of standard for the anti-hero, perhaps because of his claim to an American nationality, in contrast to the past role model of Booker T. Washington and the present historization of a founding father, Garvey himself.

Garvey further uses multiple military symbols to invent traditions of patriotic national duty, such as martial spectacles, marches, flaunting of weapons, uniforms, ranks, and other symbols denoting a military civic duty. Wilson J. Moses has suggested that "Garvey liked patriotic marches, fit to stir the hearts of warriors and, more importantly, make them move in time to a martial cadence."¹³⁶ Ironically, this military vision, Moses argues, enabled the institutionalization of a "Christian imperialism" which:

...made it possible for blacks, who had always felt somewhat threatened by the mainstream concept of manifest Destiny, to participate in one of the most virile American traditions. Every Garveyite could be a Christian soldier, assured of

¹³⁴Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, pp. 140-141.

¹³⁵I will return to a discussion of Garvey's demonization of DuBois in my discussion of the membership of the nation.

¹³⁶Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 120.

the righteousness of his cause and of his membership in a specially favored race.¹³⁷

To illustrate Garvey's obsession with martial spectacles let us listen to Garvey reminiscing on a particular event which describes the power of such theatrics:

After the morning display at Liberty Hall there was the parade and review throughout the streets of Harlem, in which 50,000 members of the organization, along with legionary and uniform ranks, including Black Cross nurse[s,] motor corps, Juvenile [divisions] and African Guards[,] marched. The military spectacle of these auxiliaries was wonderful. Eighteen bands of music were in line and marched.

...It was wonderful to see the coloring effect of the Legions, Black Cross Nurses, African Guards, and other auxiliaries. The New York and Philadelphia contingents of auxiliaries took the first prize; but sections like Boston, Cincinnati, Newark, and Cleveland came in for good second places.(sics)¹³⁸

Needless to say, Garvey's public spectacles must have conveyed a sense of power, and probably even a sense of hope. Any Garveyite who wore a uniform, became a patriotic hero, and soldier for the nation. They further inspired a sense of strength and unity which signified the defense of the race against the dangers of a society which instituted an apartheid system of governance and social order. Moreover, blessed by Archbishop McGuire, the Garveyite soldier could embark on his Christianizing and civilizing mission. The soldier would become the guarantee of safety and justice for the nation.

A fourth use of the invention of traditions of civic duty was the demand for agency and a participatory commitment to the ideologies of the nation. This requirement was partly accomplished through an ethic of moral civism. This form of national citizenship, articulated various notions of bravery and demanded a spirit of sacrifice. Garvey himself used to argue that "Leadership means everything-Pain, Blood, Death."¹³⁹ In other words it was the patriotic duty of the citizen to become a leader within the framework of the national ideology. Garvey further defined leadership as meaning

¹³⁷Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 138.

¹³⁸Garvey, "Articles," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, pp. 40-41.

¹³⁹Garvey, "Chapter I: Epigrams," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 9.

“martyrdom,” “sacrifice” and even “giving up one’s personality, giving up everything for the cause that is worth while.”¹⁴⁰ Indeed this vision “comes on the heel of World War I calls for patriotism.”¹⁴¹

To a certain extent this moral civism required a cult like adoration of the Great Messiah, Marcus Garvey. The commitment to the struggle for the establishment of a national ideology demanded that its citizen-soldier embrace a crusade for the nation, to the extent that she or he were willing to sacrifice their spiritual, physical, and material beings. It is almost as if “Garvey intended to control even the most private affairs in the lives of black people.”¹⁴² Whether this extreme commitment happened as a result of an altruistic sense of hope, or whether there were some coercive elements within the U.N.I.A., I am not certain, but the fact still remains that Garvey did manage to recruit the moral commitment of a significantly large number of individuals who in some cases may have invested their savings, fortunes, and even their lives for the idea of a U.N.I.A. African nation.

A final category which, in my opinion, participates in the invention of national patriotic traditions, is the notion of economic civism. The notion can be defined as a conscious commitment towards the realization of the nation through a national economic program. What I think is interesting to note, is how Garvey begins to invent particular traditions of economic civism towards the U.N.I.A. through a strategic economic plan seeking to empower black-owned businesses. Although “Garvey’s economic program was mildly progressive” he still embraced a naive vision of a regulated capitalism.¹⁴³ The U.N.I.A.’s economic program included a national steamship named the Black Star

¹⁴⁰Garvey, “Shall the Negro be Exterminated?,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 65.

¹⁴¹Dean Robinson, April 22, 1996.

¹⁴²Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 140.

¹⁴³Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 139.

Line, which later became the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Co., Inc.¹⁴⁴, and a plethora of restaurants, and newspapers. For the purposes of this thesis I will briefly focus on the Black Star Line/Black Cross Navigation and Trading Co., Inc., and some of the more important Garveyite newspapers. I want to suggest that these two financial institutions used particular logos and symbols which further signified the patriotic duty of the citizen towards the Garveyite nation. Moreover, Garvey actually began to create economic traditions of national investment.

With regards to the Black Star Line (1919 -1923), it is clear that this steamship was intended to create both a sense of economic independence as well as the actual infrastructure that would guarantee economic sovereignty, race pride, propaganda, continue to foster a sense of self-reliance and self sufficiency, and a continued promotion of the idea of black owned businesses as well as the need to further encourage race based enterprise. In effect “(s)hips were preeminent symbols of national power” at the time.¹⁴⁵ Even though this venture ended up in bankruptcy, the amount of money that Garvey made, just alone by selling stock, and by pure propaganda, was impressive. The very idea of a black owned business which could eventually transport Africans back to Africa, or that one day could lay the foundations for a naval armada, was enough to recruit the support of hundreds of people around the world.

However, the interesting element to this financial endeavor, is the naming of the ships, for these re-christenings did have a powerful signifying force. To note two examples, we can take the steamship *S.S. Kanawha*, which was re-christened *S.S. Antonio Maceo*. Interestingly enough, Antonio Maceo¹⁴⁶ was a Black Cuban General

¹⁴⁴The Black Star Line (BSL) became the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Co., Inc. after Garvey was indicted for allegedly selling non-existent BSL stock and committing mail fraud.

¹⁴⁵Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), p. 64.

¹⁴⁶Antonio Maceo was also a very prominent Cuban Freemason.

and War hero during the wars of emancipation in Cuba against the Spanish. More importantly, perhaps as a result of the prosperous nature of the island, Cuba had the largest number of U.N.I.A. branches outside of the United States.¹⁴⁷ Another important ship naming which occurred under the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Co., Inc. was the re-christening of the *S.S. General G.W. Goethals* which then became the *S.S. Booker T. Washington*. Needless to say, this was one of the most important ways to signify an ideology.

Another minor, but still important, signifying image was the logo of the Negro World newspaper. The logo represented the face of an ancient pharaoh, or Egyptian king. In a sense, a source of knowledge, the newspaper, acted as a signifying force, through the image of a logo, to remind the reader of the millenarian connection with the roots of the movement, namely an mythical African past. The logo further signified a sense tradition which could be traced for hundreds of years.

Although I have outlined five strategies which Garvey used to invent a patriotic tradition of national duty which would define the silhouette of the nation, it is clear that these need to be read as a threads of a large mantle which garbs the idea of the nation. As a whole the manipulation of these symbols enabled Garvey to not only construct a logical history and telos, but further historicized his present struggle within this continuum. The subsequent invention of a nationalist tradition legitimated his ideology, and further outlined the boundaries of his national imagining.

What is a Nation?

In describing the goals of the United Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.), and his vision for the African diaspora around the world to his students in his School for African Philosophy, Marcus Garvey argued that:

The culmination of all the efforts of the U.N.I.A. must end in Negro i[n]dependent nationalism on the continent of Africa. /Tha/t is to say, everything

¹⁴⁷Martin, Race First, p. 16.

must contribute toward the final /obj/ective of having a powerful nation for the Negro race. /Negro/ nationalism is necessary. It is political power and /contro/l. (sics)¹⁴⁸

The logic defending this statement was that no “race” could be free until it had “a strong nation of its own - its own system of government and its own order of society.”¹⁴⁹ As Tony Martin suggests “(c)onvinced that black people must seek salvation first as a race, Garvey set himself to the task of doing this through the principle of nationhood.”¹⁵⁰ In a separate nation Garvey and an elite cadre of individuals of African heritage, could develop an independent social, economic, and political system which would eventually enable the entity to become an Imperial power.

This national space would finally end up located in the African continent for multiple reasons, of which I will discuss two. First, and perhaps foremost, as Garvey himself argues, men and women of African heritage needed a safe space to live, for they could not:

...resort to the government (in the Western Hemisphere) for protection for the government will be in the hands of the majority of the people who are prejudiced against him, hence for the Negro to depend on the ballot and his industrial progress alone, will be hopeless as it does not help him when he is being lynched, burned, Jim-crowed, and segregated. The future of the Negro therefore, outside of Africa, spells ruin and disaster.¹⁵¹

In other words, given the repressive institutional conditions to which black Americans were subjected to, for Garvey the logical solution was to escape this environment and

¹⁴⁸Marcus Garvey, “Lesson 3: Aims and Objectives of the U.N.I.A.,” in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, A Centennial Companion to the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, ed. Robert A. Hill and Barbara Bair, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 211.

¹⁴⁹Marcus Garvey, “Lesson 3: Aims and Objectives of the U.N.I.A.,” in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, A Centennial Companion to the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, ed. Robert A. Hill and Barbara Bair, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 211.

¹⁵⁰Martin, Race First, p. 41.

¹⁵¹Garvey, “The True Solution of the Negro Problem-1922,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 53

establish a safe haven where black people could have absolute control over their political, social and economic agencies. Presumably, in a nation where black men governed the people these historical injustices would not occur. The rationale was that black people by virtue of their experience would not subject other blacks to the same oppressive conditions to which the white man had subjected the Pan-African diaspora. Although history has taught us that social constructions of race do not necessarily exempt an individual from committing atrocities and perpetuating the very same forms of oppression which Garvey recognized, it is clear that Garvey was appealing to a general sense of frustration and hope. By this I mean to suggest that for many black Americans the romantic idea of escaping to, or even enabling the creation of a safe place for future generations, where they could find economic prosperity, and a sense of belonging to a national community with its place as an equal in the world was clearly appealing, but in the same breath obscured some of the very same dangers which it was purporting to solve.

Despite never having set foot in Africa although clearly informed of the conditions in some parts of the Continent,¹⁵² Garvey argued that Africa could provide a national space that would eventually be emulated by the rest of the African colonies, and which by further virtue of being populated by “pure” Black /African men and women would not replicate the barbarities of the white nations. Thus, in Tony Martin’s words:

Garvey saw Africa essentially as the only place where black people could launch a successful bid for equality with other races and nations. Africa was the black man’s ancestral home; he was still in a majority there; the continent was rich in natural resources; and with some technical help, from black people in other areas a determined drive for equality would have the best chances of success there. And if a black man became powerful in Africa this would necessarily raise his status all over the world.¹⁵³

¹⁵²Garvey, “A Confidential Report on the True Conditions in Liberia by Commissioner Garcia to Marcus Garvey: Elie Garcia’s Liberian Report dated August, 1920,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 399-405.

¹⁵³Martin, Race First, p. 113.

A second reason which Garvey relied on, was the “divine apportionment of Earth,” for as he argued, “God Almighty created all men equal” and “Nature intended a place for each and every one,” thus “(i)f Europe is for the white man, if Asia is for the brown and yellow men, then surely Africa is for the black man.”¹⁵⁴ Thus Garvey argued:

Let no black man feel that he has the exclusive right to the world, and other men none, and let no white men feel that way, either. The world is property of all mankind, and each and every group is entitled to a portion. The black man now wants his, and in terms uncompromising he is asking for it.¹⁵⁵

Thus, the world, according to Garvey was to be compartmentalized into separate spaces which would enable the development of racialized nations, and the messianic resurgence of a long suppressed empire. In a sense Garvey envisioned the members of his ideal nation to take the place of the Jewish community as God’s chosen people.

Garvey attempted to locate his nation in three major places, namely the former post World War I, ex-German African colonies; Washington, D.C.; and Liberia. These locations are extremely important because of both what they symbolized to Garvey and his movement, and what they signified about this political ideology. With this in mind it is possible to define the Garveyite nation as a safe and secure place in Africa that would enable the development of an independent social, economic and political community governed by black/African colonizers of the diaspora. The nation would provide the space in which the U.N.I.A. could establish the foundations for an empire in the same tradition that other European and American empires had developed. More importantly this place, the nation, would enable a select group of individuals, presumably loyal to Garvey himself, to establish an environmentally legitimated home base for international operations.

¹⁵⁴Garvey, “Divine Apportionment of Earth,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 32

¹⁵⁵Garvey, “Speech Delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A., Sunday March 16, 1924,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 120.

Garvey, through the U.N.I.A., petitioned the League of Nations in 1919, 1922, 1923, and in 1928 for control over the ex-German African territories¹⁵⁶:

In the forward step to establish colonies in Africa, the Association sent a delegation to the League of nations at Geneva, in 1922, to present to the body a petition asking for the *turning over to the organization all of the late German African Colonies*, which were taken from them during the war by black soldiers, and which were claimed by France and England. *I sent special instructions to Sir Eric Drummond (British)) Secretary-General of the League, explaining the object of the Delegation, and asking that they be seated as representatives of the Negro Peoples of the World...* The petition was presented by the Persian delegation at the League on behalf of our delegates... The delegation of 1923, got no favorable consideration...(emphasis mine).¹⁵⁷

As I have tried to emphasize, Garvey's attempt to take over the former German territories through the formal petitioning to the League of Nations claimed the recognition of the U.N.I.A. as an imperial power in equal standing to any other imperial nation. More especially, this recognition would have not only acknowledged the U.N.I.A. as legitimate "representatives of the Negro Peoples of the World," but recognized the U.N.I.A.'s "place" in the international arena. In another sense it demanded the recognition of the U.N.I.A. as a people without a nation.

In a different way, this move further signified other problematic political issues such as the civilizing nature of the U.N.I.A.'s ideologies and its willingness to depend on the charity and goodwill of the international society of empires. With regards to the first issue, Garvey is quite clear about his Eurocentric paternalism, and his interest in colonizing and "civilizing the backward tribes of Africa."¹⁵⁸ This notion can further be noted in Garvey's own description of the Aims and Objects of the U.N.I.A., where in describing the latter objective, he argues that:

¹⁵⁶Martin, Race First, pp. 45-47.

¹⁵⁷Garvey, "Scene: The League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 406.

¹⁵⁸Garvey, "Aims and Objects of Movement for Solution of Negro Problem," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 38.

Africa is the motherland of all Negroes, from where all Negroes in slavery were taken against their will. It is the natural home of the race. One day all Negroes hope to look to Africa as the land of their vine and fig tree. It is necessary, therefore, to help the tribes who live in Africa to advance to a higher state of civilization. The white man is not conscientiously doing it although he professes to do so, but this is the only method to deceive the world.

It is the negro who must help the Negro. To help the African Negro to civilization is to prepare him for his place in a New African state that will be home to all Negroes.¹⁵⁹

Perhaps the most important signification of appealing to the League of Nations for a national space was the recognition of the dependence of any African nation on the support of the international society of empires. In other words the success of the nation, as Liberia suggested and as Haile Selassie's Ethiopia later confirmed, was conditioned on the support of the other powerful empires. Garvey recognized that the only way that his nation could succeed and exist, would be within a cooperative framework established by the League of Nations. This blessing or permission would not only allow Garvey to gain a national space, but would guarantee him time without the hindrance of other nations either sabotaging his nation, or simply invading his territorial space.

Ironically, Garvey did explore a second location for the construction of a nation in the Capital of the United States of America, Washington, D.C. As Tony Martin notes:

Just days after the adoption of this declaration, the announcement was made the UNIA's leader of the American Negroes would take up residence in a Black House in Washington since black people could not elect one of their own to the White House.

Needless to say, this project never materialized. However, this declaration raises some interesting issues around the symbolic meaning of the Capital, or rather the White House in relation blacks in America. Consistent with his nationalist rhetoric, Garvey clearly decides to carve a separate space, on an equal level in the United States. This Black house can be construed as a disregard for the existing "White" government, it can

¹⁵⁹Garvey, "Lesson 3: Aims and Objects of the U.N.I.A.," in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, pp. 207-208.

be interpreted as not only a refusal to engage in political struggles, but rather a challenge to the US government. By this I mean to suggest that the establishment of a Black House, in Washington, D.C., symbolized the erection of a new Capital for the Pan-African diaspora, and direct negation of the existing State. The Black House could have symbolized a “take over” the Nation’s Capitol.

The American-constructed nation of Liberia, was to be Garvey’s third and most important location for the establishment of a U.N.I.A. nation. Liberia would not only provide a starting point for the realization of Garvey’s empire, but it represented the model of success which Garvey idealized. Thus, as Garvey argues:

it was decided that the most convenient way of their being able to help their native land-Africa-was through assisting the Republic of Liberia to establish herself as a successful nation through her industrial, agricultural and commercial development, thereby proving completely the Negro’s undisputed ability for self-government.¹⁶⁰

As I have suggested earlier, Garvey institutionalizes his Liberian civilizationist program in 1920 with the formation of the Liberian Construction Loan and colonization plan. He later formalizes his plan with a U.N.I.A. public meeting with Liberia’s President, C.D.B. King in 1921, during which time a U.N.I.A. delegation of technicians is sent over to Monrovia, to further assess the viability of the formation of an U.N.I.A. community. By 1923, a second U.N.I.A. delegation is sent to Liberia, with the expressed intent of operationalizing Garvey’s colonization plan. But on June 30, 1924, the Liberian Secretary of State, Edwin Barclay, “informed shipping companies that no members of ‘the so called Garvey movement’ would be allowed to land in Liberia.”¹⁶¹ Clearly this public statement effectively put an end to any organized resettlement of U.N.I.A. Garveyites within the Liberian national space, yet, more

¹⁶⁰Garvey, “Scene, New York and Liberia: Petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 386.

¹⁶¹Martin, Race First, p. 128.

importantly combined with Garvey's subsequent incarceration, marked not only the decapitation of his movement, but failure and subsequent demise of his ideology.

Clearly there were multiple reasons for Liberia's ultimate refusal to become the home of the Garveyite Pan-African diaspora, of which three are worth mentioning. First, and perhaps of critical importance, was the publication of "A Confidential Report on the True Conditions in Liberia by Commissioner Garcia to Marcus Garvey: Elie Garcia's Liberian Report Dated August, 1920"; the international pressure excerpted by the neighboring French and British imperial/colonial territories; and the lucrative negotiations between the Liberian government and the US Firestone Rubber Company. As a whole these participated in shattering Garvey's most tenable realization of an African nation, and in a further sense de-legitimated the idea of a welcoming motherland. The idea of Africa as the nurturing mother waiting to welcome its stolen children was in a sense shattered.

For Garvey, Liberia provided the ideal place for the "Colonization of Africa by Negroes as (a) solution" to the "race problem." In Garvey's words, the U.N.I.A. was working "to develop Colonies in Liberia as Peaceful Homes for Negroes - Similar to (the) Homeland in Palestine for Jews," Liberia was to become the "natural home for Negroes".¹⁶² This African nation, primarily established with the support of the United States, represented the possibility of a home, a place where the headquarters of the U.N.I.A. could define a successful national realization and legitimate its expansion.

However, the failure of this realization, while not necessarily signaling the demise of Garvey's ambitions, signified the illusory limits of the African centered imagining. By this I mean that the very imagining of uprooting a West Indian, or an American of African heritage, and "returning" him or her to the motherland/home, ignored the multiple barriers which geopolitical and geo-economic constructions of national spaces

¹⁶²Garvey, "Liberian Committees Suggestions, etc." in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 380-381.

had, and continue to, establish. These barriers or boundaries have historically participated in the estrangement and alienation of people, regardless of racial and ethnic construction. In other words, the capitulation of the Liberian government leading to the refusal to admit Garveyite colonists, not only testifies to the multiple political, economic, and social conflicts among both bodies, but it actually clarifies the tension within the romanticized imagining of the motherland. Perhaps this is symptomatic of the dangers of the Victorian nationalisms and their alienation from contemporary reality. Liberia's closing of borders clearly demarcates the boundaries between national interests and racially constructed interests.

Nationhood as Independence

The modern romantic idea of national sovereignty is fundamentally wedded to a vision of economic independence. Garvey argued that "Nationhood is the only means by which modern civilization can completely protect itself (and) independence of nationality, independence of government, is the means of protecting not only the individual, but the group."¹⁶³ Consequently "We of the Negro Race are moving from one state of organization to another, and we shall so continue until we have thoroughly lifted ourselves into the organization of Government."¹⁶⁴ Whereas government, Garvey further argued, "is only executive control, a centralized authority for the purpose of expressing the will of the people."¹⁶⁵

Within this context we can continue to discern two interrelated and interdependent definitions of independence. The basic definition of independence is clearly a structural set of frameworks which sustained and enabled a "negro nation". Amongst these we

¹⁶³Garvey, "Chapter I: Epigrams," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 6.

¹⁶⁴Garvey, "Chapter I: Epigrams," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 7.

¹⁶⁵Garvey, "Chapter II: Government," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. I: p. 19.

can find a juridical articulation of independence, which articulates a vision of justice and entitlement to equal citizenship rights, as well as the creation of a legal system which essentially guaranteed a safe and secure space. Some examples of this argument can be noted in the “Declaration of Rights of the negro Peoples of the World,” which resulted from a U.N.I.A. convention in 1920.¹⁶⁶ Presided by the elected Provisional President of Africa, Marcus Garvey, the Declaration, among demanding a number of rights, declared:

3. “That we believe the Negro, like any other race, should be governed by the ethics of civilization, and therefore should not be deprived of any of those rights or privileges common to other human beings.”

4. “We declare that Negroes, wheresoever they form a community among themselves, should be given the right to elect their own representatives to represent them in legislatures, courts of law, or such institutions as may exercise control over that particular community.”

5. “We assert that the Negro is entitled to even-handed justice before all courts of law and equity in whatever country he may be found, and when this is denied him on account of his race or color such denial is an insult to the race as a whole and should be resented by the entire body of Negroes.”¹⁶⁷

In other words the law was to guaranteed the necessary sovereignty to have a just, egalitarian, and safe space. Ironically this vision further suggests a negotiation between accepting the rule of the State’s agencies, and resisting the abuses of the State. It is almost as if Garvey’s nationalism while claiming a separation from the State, also encouraged its members to exist in a space within the State’s institutionalization of law.

In addition independence meant “freedom, politically, industrially, educationally, socially, religiously, as well as a full enjoyment of world democracy and a national

¹⁶⁶Garvey, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 135-143.

¹⁶⁷Garvey, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 137.

independence all our own on the Continent of Africa.”¹⁶⁸ Of the latter, commerce and trade are of special significance, for in one sense Garvey argues that:

Commerce and industry are the economic props of the economic life of the state, the community or society as a whole. On these two foundations [r]ests the universal system of exchange with its financial factors.... Without commerce and industry, a people perish economically. The Negro is perishing because he has no economic system, no commerce, no industry.¹⁶⁹

Yet, ironically Garvey both acknowledged exclusion and claimed a space at the margins of the economic system where he could build his empire, for as he himself argued:

the only convenient friend the Negro worker or laborer has, in America, at the present time, is the white capitalist. The capitalist being selfish-seeking only the largest profit out of labor-is willing and gladly to use the Negro labor wherever possible on a scale “reasonably” below the standard white union wage. He will tolerate the Negro in any industry (except those that are necessarily guarded for the protection of the white man’s material, racial, and assumed cultural dominance) if he accepts a lower standard of wage than the union man; but, if the negro unionizes himself to the level of the white worker, and in affiliation with him, the choice and preference of employment is given to the white worker, without any regard or consideration for the Negro.¹⁷⁰

The idea being that through sacrifice and hard work, the negro race could eventually save and invest enough to become self employed, and subsequently compete against the white national economies as an equal.¹⁷¹ Thus this redemptive success would occur after hard work and sacrifice.¹⁷²

An implication of this vision was that it redefined resistance as something that could only be achieved through the establishment of a nation, and eventually a subsequent

¹⁶⁸Garvey, “Text of Telegram Sent to the Disarmament Conference,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 115.

¹⁶⁹Garvey, “Lesson 18: Commercial and Industrial Transactions,” in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, pp. 300, 305.

¹⁷⁰Garvey, “The Negro, Communism, Trade Unionism and his (?) Friend,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 69.

¹⁷¹Garvey, “The Negro, Communism, Trade Unionism and his (?) Friend,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 70.

¹⁷²Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 142.

empire. However, Garvey's colonizing project did not intend to resettle all of the African diaspora, but rather only a select few who possessed the necessary technical skills to contribute to the construction of a nation and a subsequent racial empire. Thus the question becomes "what happens to the rest?"

The idea of national independence is clearly wedded to a notion of power, and more especially the empowerment of the race. Independence, as described earlier, signified the empowerment of the black race, which in Garvey's propaganda meant the "good negroes." Regardless of the actual implications of who was going to benefit, I want to problematize Garvey's rhetoric on racial independence, which ultimately relied on a self-help and victimization politics that absolved the State, its institutions, and the empires from any form of responsibility towards the sectors of their respective societies which they continued to consciously marginalize with a system of apartheid. To be sure, an apartheid politics which creates hierarchies of access and distribution of resources based on eugenic constructions of its members should not be acceptable. In Garvey's reality, especially, where there was an active membership willing to assume some general responsibilities and commitments towards the realization of a collective endeavor, it is clear that there was a possibility of establishing a relationship to the State. The problem was that in that particular moment in time neither did the State want to have anything to do with traditionally marginalized communities nor did Garvey publicly articulate a plea for a working relationship. In other words, Garvey's agenda absolved the State from any responsibility towards black communities who had been marginalized based on public constructions of race which the State itself perpetuated both by legislation and by default.

We can further note both Garvey's support for the Ku Klux Klan¹⁷³ and the State¹⁷⁴ as well as his blaming of the "negro race" for bringing upon itself all the ills and implications of an apartheid political system. Garvey actually claimed that:

Having had actually the wrong education as a start in his racial career, the Negro has become his greatest enemy. Most of the troubles I have had in advancing the cause of the race have come from Negroes. Booker Washington aptly described the race in one of his lectures by stating that we were like crabs in a barrel, that none would allow the other to climb over, but on any such attempt all would combine to pull back into the barrel the one crab that would make the effort to climb out.¹⁷⁵

My point is simply to establish that Garvey's choice to defend the agencies responsible for the perpetuation of a social, economic, and political system of apartheid in the United States, and to further blame the very communities which were persecuted and oppressed on the condition of skin color, as a political strategy to legitimate his project, is symptomatic of a conservative project designed to further accommodate the political interests of a Garveyite political machine. This accommodationist project publicly claiming a radical alternative to the status quo, actually enabled a few select "negroes" to emigrate to an ideal nation; however, the masses would ultimately be left with an inferior status, dependent on low wages, and subhuman living conditions, in a society governed by an apartheid system.

Moreover, the very idea of racial independence further requires us to contemplate who is a member of the race, and what is his or her place in Garvey's definition of the race. In other words what are the criteria to measure an original identity or genealogy? Clearly the possibility of a pure race had the potential to exclude committed citizens

¹⁷³Garvey, "The Negro, Communism, Trade Unionism and his (?) Friend," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 71

¹⁷⁴ Garvey, "Messages Sent to the Negro Peoples of the World From the Tombs prison, New York City, U.S.A.," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 217.

¹⁷⁵Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 133.

whose genealogy included a white slave master, or as Garvey would probably suggest, white, yellow, and maybe even red blood. This is important for in defining the race the question of authenticity, between the native born African and diaspora, suggests some possible hierarchies of legitimacy conditioned to a birth right and indifferent to an actual social, political, and economic commitment to a particular collective definition of justice.

As I have suggested earlier, a second dimension of Garvey's notion of independence was government, or rather the expression of the will of the people which is presumably enabled through the executive control of an honest President. In other words independence, for Garvey, enabled the possibility of the creation of a national space where one supreme executive authority could exercise the will of its people. This nation, which Garvey described as the "Ideal State" came as a result of the failure of the "modern systems of Government."¹⁷⁶ More importantly, since "the state cannot govern itself: it finds expression and executes its edicts through individuals, hence the State is human."¹⁷⁷

Presumably, "(a)ll other methods of government having been tried and failed" a reformation would entail the election of an absolute "head" who "should be thoroughly responsible for himself and the acts of his subordinates."¹⁷⁸ To be sure, the elected President of the Nation, Garvey argued:

should be endowed with absolute authority to appoint all his lieutenants from cabinet ministers, governors of States and Territories, administrators and judges to minor officers. He should swear his life as a guarantee to the State and people, and he should be made to pay the price of such a life if he deceives, grafts, bows to special privilege or interest, or in any way undermines the sacred honor and trust imposed upon him by acts of favoritism, injustice or friendly or self interests. He should be the soul of honor, and when he is legally or

¹⁷⁶Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 74.

¹⁷⁷Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 74.

¹⁷⁸Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 74.

properly found to the contrary, he should be publicly disgraced, and put to death as an outcast and an unworthy representative of the righteous will of the people.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, this President should “by proper provisions made by the State, be removed from all pecuniary obligations and desires of a material nature”, and further be given a large enough salary that will remove him and his family from any temptation or want.¹⁸⁰ At the end of the Presidents term, or rather their death, their family guaranteed perpetual financial security by the State, Garvey further argued, should be:

granted public funerals and their names added to the niche in the Hall of Fame of the Nation. Their names should be placed on the Honor Roll of the Nation, and their deeds of righteousness should be handed down to the succeeding generations of the race, and their memories sung by the poets of the nation.¹⁸¹

Interestingly, Garvey himself was at the time the President General of the U.N.I.A., and had managed to be elected provisional President of Africa¹⁸², at least within and for U.N.I.A. purposes. Aside from the obvious fact that Garvey was interested in being the first President of his nation, what is most problematic, is that independence in the form of self-government gave an authoritarian ruler the powers of an absolute dictator. The question becomes, what happens when the will of the people is not necessarily what the President of the nation knows or thinks to be the best solution for a particular national contingency? Or rather how when faced with a divided citizenry, with competing interests, what side would the President choose?

¹⁷⁹Garvey, “Governing the Ideal State” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 74-75.

¹⁸⁰Garvey, “Governing the Ideal State” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 75.

¹⁸¹Garvey, “Governing the Ideal State” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p.76.

¹⁸²Garvey, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 135-143.

The answer to this last question may be that given the presumed homogeneity of the nation, namely that of one race, and the further selection of an elite cadre of members of the nation, the will of the people will be the same will as that of their President. In other words, dissent, or even democracy, particularly in large numbers of citizens may not necessarily be a component of Garvey's nation. The question then becomes what happens with those who are dissenters within the nation? While Garvey avoids this question, the answer could perhaps be found in the penalty to which the President's administrators and judges are to be held accountable for committing any "injustice, unfairness, favoritism or malfeasance," they are to be "disgraced and stoned to death."¹⁸³

To sum up a further question must be proposed, and that is whether independence was actually a viable possibility, particularly in the mist of an ever increasing globalization of commercial relations. From a historical point of view it is possible to suggest that invented nations such as Liberia were successful as a result of the support of the United States. Further, if nations did not enjoy the support of international empires, they would not be able to survive, as was the case with Haile Selassie's Ethiopia during Mussolini's occupation. To be sure, Garvey's nation, as well as the economic, political, and social independence, would have depended on the support of an international society of empires. A somewhat anarchical society which not only embraced expansionist policies, and was further interested in the economic exploitation of their "back yards," but actually promoted apartheid policies which established hierarchies of classes of people, based on skin color, ethnic, and national origin. Thus the Garveyite empire could only result from the strategic acquisition of a nation, and its accomodationist development of an independent economic and military force.

¹⁸³Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 75.

Conclusion

Despite Garvey's revolutionary pretensions, his ideology was problematic on a number of counts. To be sure, Garvey's inconsistent and often contradictory ideological outbursts were wedded to some of the dominant mainstream paradigms of his particular historical moment. By way of conclusion I want to note several tensions present throughout his work, such as his authoritarian, theocratic, racist, accomodationist, sexist, and Eurocentric ideas. I will then move to question whether Garvey's escapist project could have succeeded without the support of those very institutions which he was escaping from.

I think Wilson J. Moses has clearly noted the authoritarian and theocratic nature of Garvey's ideology which can be discerned from his "theories on the governance of the black state" which further:

echo the nineteenth-century theocratic absolutism of Alexander Crummell. I appears certain that the African regime Garvey hoped to establish was to be authoritarian, elitist, collectivist, racist, and capitalistic. "We were the first fascists," he told J.A. Rogers, the popular black people's historian. "Mussolini copied Fascism from me, but the Negro reactionaries sabotaged it." He felt that the salvation of the black people was to be found only in "extreme nationalism." Garvey disavowed any intention of setting up an alien aristocracy in Africa to exercise an over lordship over the indigenous tribes, but, in practice, he tended to be Napoleonic, after all the tribes were "backward" and it was the duty of the UNIA to civilize and Christianize them.¹⁸⁴

Moreover, as I have suggested earlier and along the same lines of Moses, Garvey's idea of the ideal President of the "Ideal State" clearly outlines the authoritarian absolutist nature of the executive's power to govern over the people.¹⁸⁵ The question becomes why did Garvey have an obsession with this absolute control? or why did Garvey

¹⁸⁴Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms, p. 139.

¹⁸⁵Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State" in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: pp. 74-80.

avoid the possibility of a progressive democratic regime with a social and economic commitment to its citizens well being?

Herein lies one of the major dangers and contradictions of the Garveyite project. On the one hand Garvey and his U.N.I.A. become the founding fathers of his African nation, and by his own command defines the laws and norms of the community, and on the other the President, presumably Garvey himself, is given the absolute rule to govern the ideal State, without any interference and on penalty of death. Thus how can he make a mistake? How can he go wrong, when he has made the norms and established the governing law himself? This vision of the nation not only denies the possibility of agency, but further makes no room for changes, transformations, and future generations. Presumably, and given the existence of no other governing and legislative body, the President continues in power as long as he continues to follow the original founding laws, no matter how irrelevant they are for its future generations. Dissent will be met with a stoning ceremony.

Yet perhaps more ironic is the Garveyite obsession with an eugenic conception of the race. Garvey's vision replicates the very same condition of apartheid and racism which created the conditions for his project. The exclusion, and oppression of a particular group of people on account of a social and historical invention of race and color were the very basis for a nationalist alternative, and Garvey emulated this very form of oppression. The membership of the nation in itself defines this problem. To illustrate the nature of this danger, it is worth quoting Garvey *in extenso*:

The thoughtful and industrious of our race want to go back to Africa, because we realize it will be our only hope of permanent existence. We cannot all go in a day or a year, ten or twenty years. It will take time under the rule of modern economics, to entirely or largely depopulate a country of people, who have been its residents for centuries, but we feel that, with the proper help for fifty years the problem can be solved. We do not want all the Negroes in Africa. Some are no good here, and naturally will be no good there. The no-good Negro will naturally die in fifty years. The Negro who is wrangling about and fighting for social equality will naturally pass away in fifty years, and yield his place to the progressive Negro who wants a society and country of his own.

Negroes are divided into two groups, the industrious and adventurous, and the lazy and dependent. The industrious and adventurous believe that whatsoever others have done it can do. The Universal Negro Improvement Association belongs to this group, and so you find us working, six million strong, to the goal of an independent nationality.¹⁸⁶

Clearly for Garvey the “good Negro” or rather the good citizen becomes one who is a U.N.I.A. member, and one who is not struggling for civil rights in the United States or any other empire for that matter. The good citizen is one who is willing to struggle for the establishment of a society at the margins of the international society of nations, the African nation. In one sense Garvey articulates an ideology which creates a distinction amongst the African diaspora, for not all of the U.N.I.A. membership will be allowed to colonize the African nation, and out of the select few that could participate in this project only those who possess industrious skills are presumed to be accepted at citizens. This membership excludes the African “tribe,” and black individual who is not skilled in any technological trade. More importantly this ideology articulates a vision of mobility which ignores the very unreality of exodus and mass migration.

In addition, there is another dark side to Garvey’s ideology, which is directly interrelated to his definition of the “good Negro” and the “Negro who is wrangling about and fighting for social equality,” namely Garvey’s racialize hierarchies. Hence the “good Negroes” are those who believe in race purity and:

are going to fight the issue out for the salvation of both races, and this can only be satisfactorily done when we have established for the Negro a nation of his own. We believe that the white race should protect itself against racial contamination, and the Negro should do the same. Nature intended us morally (and may I not say socially?) (sic) apart, otherwise there never would have been this difference.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶Garvey, “Speech Delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A., Sunday, March 16, 1924,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 122.

¹⁸⁷Garvey, “First Speech After Release from Tombs Prison Delivered at Liberty Hall New York City, September 13, 1923,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 234.

By contrast, the “bad Negro,” for Garvey, was embodied in the movements which struggled for increased civil rights in the United States. In other words those who challenged the apartheid politics of the State, or simply for political, economic, and social redefinitions of the American Nation-State, as opposed to claiming a space at the margins, were considered enemies of the Garveyite race, and of the Pan-African diaspora. The world for Garvey became a battle between integrationists and separatists, and these were defined within the context of his nationalism, and conditioned upon the continuous legitimization of his nationalism. Aside from the national Negro journals and newspapers, the fundamental enemy of the race was personified in W.E. Burghardt DuBois, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In describing DuBois, Garvey consistently made remarks such as:

if there is any ugliness in the Negro race it would be reflected more through DuBois than Marcus Garvey, in that he himself tells us that he is a little Dutch, a little French, and a little Negro. Why in fact the man is a monstrosity.¹⁸⁸

Compounded with his reliance on popular racial categorizations such as that of Octoroons and Quadroons, Garvey established the criteria for membership on supposedly biological grounds. This set up the boundaries of his nation and provide the reason to condemn miscegenation. Thus:

Insist in a campaign of race purity, that is doing everything moral and social within the race and close ranks against all other races. It is natural that it is a disgrace to mix your race with other races. The splitting up of the race is unwholesome and doesn't tend to dignify morally the group. It will be a beautiful thing when we have a standard Negro race.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸Garvey, “W.E. Burghardt DuBois as a Hater of Dark People,” in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 310.

¹⁸⁹Garvey, “Lesson 2: Leadership,” in Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons, p. 204.

Needless to say the Garveyite African citizen, in Garvey's "Ideal State," was required to be of a pure African stock, otherwise, he or she could be excluded, or perhaps stoned, and or "publicly disgraced and put to death."¹⁹⁰

I think it is important to note that Garvey's nationalism amalgamated a variety of contradictory ideologies. His nationalist rhetoric both acknowledged exclusion, and claimed a separate identity and space. The end result was an accommodationist position that enabled Garvey to legitimate his participation in mainstream economic endeavors, such as his Black Star Line business deals with wealthy "white" men, and at the very same time claim a separate "Black" business identity and space at the margins of "mainstream" America.¹⁹¹ I mean the very idea of an independent and self-sufficient economic endeavor, a black owned business, created a sense of marginality while obscuring the actual business relationships with the very "race" that was oppressing the Negro "race."

Another example of the Garveyite constant ideological tension between the acknowledgment of exclusion, and the claiming of a separate space at the margins, was Garvey's relationship with the Ku Klux Klan, and the Anglo-Saxon Club. On the one hand liberal America made very little strides toward beginning to dismantle the existing apartheid system, and other the Ku Klux Klan was open about their nativist desire to "cleanse" and "purify" the nation. Garvey, strategically, used both positions to legitimate his U.N.I.A. operations in the United States, as well as his selective migrationist project.

¹⁹⁰Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 76.

¹⁹¹A clear example of these practices was Garvey's transportation of "whiskey" for the Pan Union Company. (E. David Cronon, Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Improvement Association; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955/1969, pp. 82-83).

Regarding his patriarchal vision of the nation, it is clear that the role of the women was that of an aid to men. Women, in Garvey's ideology, were considered to be the mothers of the nation, the nurses of the nation, the secretaries of the nation's leaders, and in general, were relegated to a domestic space where they served as mothers. Thus Garvey said:

The State should hold the wife of the President, and the wives of all administrative officials, solely responsible for their domestic households, and they should be required by law to keep a strict account of all the receipts and disbursements of their husbands during their administrative terms...¹⁹²

Regarding Garvey's Eurocentric vision all one needs to see is the U.N.I.A.'s parades and his dress code to note the pomposity of his style. Clearly on an ideological level, Garvey's idea of the nation was modeled after the "great European empires" and its historical figures. Along these lines it is clear that Garvey's civilizing project sought to emulate the framework and individuals of the "white" empires. In other words Garvey not only relies on an imitation of "white" success stories such as the Rockefellers, but measures his success through the lens of European imperialism and its power to institutionalize the oppression and exploitation of individuals of African heritage. What is ironic is that Garvey's vision of the "motherland" was Africa, and within this Africa Garvey imagined a mythological Africa. Garvey clearly defines his standard of civilization and humanity within the framework of a European and American history. It is almost as if he inserts an African country into a European structure, and constructs a vision of the nation from within this structure. The African native, the village, or the small community, simply becomes an exotic remnant of colonial times, which through a missionary civilizing process, needs to be rescued and modernize. Ironically, it is almost as if Africa were to be the ideal place to build a nation, without the African.

¹⁹²Garvey, "Governing the Ideal State," in Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Vol. II: p. 75.

Garvey's escapist rhetoric was wedded to a particular acknowledgment of the Negro as an excluded "race" living at the margins of world empires. This definition and more importantly this location of the Negro denied him and/or her the possibility of having been an integral part of the formation of national empires. This conceptualization of the marginalized and oppressed class of people enabled him to articulate a vision of a safe and secure place outside of the United States, as well as other countries, where an elite cadre of the African diaspora could return to and develop a safe haven and subsequently an empire.

This vision of the nation as an alternative safe space continues to be problematic on a number of different levels, particularly when talking about the nature of borders and boundaries. To be sure the nation does not guarantee safety. On the one hand, as Prof. William E. Connolly suggests:

Non state terrorism, the internationalization of capital, the greenhouse effect, acid rain, drug traffic, illegal aliens, the global character of strategic planning, extensive resource dependencies across state boundaries, and the accelerated pace of disease transmission across continents can serve as some signs of this contraction of space and time in the late modern world. Together they signify a widening gap between the power of the most powerful states and the power they would require to be self-governing and self-determining.... No state can be inclusive enough to master the environment that conditions it...¹⁹³

In other words the borders and boundaries of a nation have always been permeable to a number of dangers. In order to challenge and combat these and other dangers Garvey would have had to possess a substantial national wealth and resources, which as the bankruptcy of the Black Star Line clearly demonstrated, he did not command. Garvey and the U.N.I.A. would have had to not only borrow a substantial and ridiculous amount of money to finance such an enterprise as that of founding a nation, that in the end, if they actually managed to find investors, would have made the nation dependent on the creditors. And even then, as Haile Selassie's Ethiopia demonstrated, the

¹⁹³William E. Connolly, Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 24.

ownership of the nation did not guarantee that an empire would not invade it for its resources and wealth. Moreover, this would have involved the establishment of commercial relations with hostile forces.

On the other hand even having the power to be an empire did not guarantee safety from being attacked by other empires, nations, or coalitions of nations. While it is clear that a nation with an active citizenship may articulate and guarantee a vision of social, political, and economic justice, safety is conditioned on the stability of the nation and its relation to other national powers. This particular historical period, as the recent World War I had demonstrated, was pretty much a period of expansionist military expansionism and imperialism, not that much has changed since. Thus, any new nation would have had to rely on not only the financial support of other national powers, which for the most part were pursuing expansionist policies, but also on the agreement that no military empire would all of the sudden decide to capitalize on the nation's resources. More importantly the very fact that the Garvey had to explore a separate and marginal international space in order to guarantee safety, was a further indicator of the very national practices which he was trying to escape from.

CHAPTER IV

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS AND THE NATIONAL PERSON

Introduction

In discussing Pedro Albizu Campos' the origins of Don Pedro Albizu Campos' mass based nationalism, Luis Angel Ferrao suggests that Albizu capitalized on the existing sense of injustice which permeated throughout Puerto Rico, as well as the intellectual and cultural nationalisms which were popular amongst the Puerto Rican elite.¹⁹⁴ Ferrao further argues that what distinguished Albizu, as well as made him an appealing leader, was both his sincere commitment to direct confrontation and struggle against the occupying force, and the energetic force which he further inspired.¹⁹⁵ Albizu Campos continues to be the central figure of contemporary Puerto Rican nationalists, to the extent that present nationalist organizations such as *La Coordinadora*¹⁹⁶ came together and spent \$95,000.00 to build a statue of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and further continue to eulogize him as the timeless symbol of Puerto Rican independence.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, pp. 21, 53.

¹⁹⁵Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, p. 54.

¹⁹⁶*La Coordinadora* is a shortened name for La Coordinadora de las Actividades Conmemorativas del Centenario del Natalicio de Don Pedro Albizu Campos, [The Coordinator of the Commemorative Activities for the Centennial Birth of Don Pedro Albizu Campos]. This coalition of pro-Puerto Rican independence is organized by a Lawyer named José Enrique Ayoroa Santaliz, and is designed to develop activities which create a sense of unity amongst the multiple pro-independence groups which roam the island.

¹⁹⁷Stella Soto, "Albizu regresa a Ponce," in El Nuevo Día, 22 de octubre de 1995, pp. 16-17.

In this chapter I want to continue to illustrate some of the dangers inherent in Albizu's nationalist ideology through a reading of his use of symbols to invent a nationalist tradition of patriotic duty, his resulting vision of the nation, and its further relationship to a notion of juridical and economic independence. After a brief discussion of the latter, I will move to conclude my discussion with a critique of some of the dangers present in Albizu's nationalism as well as the contradictions present in his ideology.

Invented Traditions and Symbols

The horizons of Albizu's nationalist ideology are evident when we consider his use of national symbols to invent some metaphysical traditions of patriotic duty. Through the appropriation, manipulation and redefinition of local, national and international symbols, Albizu constructs a nationalist tradition which he further uses to legitimate his ideology. Albizu uses traditions of heraldic and historical civism, as well as symbols of military, moral, and economic civism to not only locate his nationalism in a millenarian struggle for justice and the eventual realization of an Iberian Christian empire. However, the resulting invented traditions not only historically inaccurate, but also contradictory.

Articulating a vision of heraldic civism Albizu argued that the "reconquest of Puerto Rico has begun through the reconquering of its ashes and it has also begun through the reconquest of the symbols of its sovereignty."¹⁹⁸ This reconquering of symbols, Albizu further argues, meant the reconquering of the national flag. Articulating the need to reclaim this symbol of nationhood, Albizu appropriates three flags. The first is a flag, quite similar to that of the Dominican Republic, embroidered by Marina Bracetti for

¹⁹⁸"La reconquista de Puerto Rico ha empezado por la reconquista de sus cenizas y ha empezado también por la reconquista de los símbolos de su soberanía." Albizu Campos, "El día de la consagración de la bandera de Puerto Rico" [A Day of Honor for the Consecration of the Puerto Rican Flag], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 256.

the revolution which took place in the town of Lares in 1868 against the Spanish regime on the island of Puerto Rico. This flag symbolized the origins of the struggle for national liberation. A second national flag which was used by Albizu, was the now traditional red, white and blue flag, created in New York in 1892 by Antonio Velez Alvarado. This flag had originally been constructed in the image of Cuba, to further signify the Puerto Rican solidarity to Cuba. Together these two flags embodied the national identity of Albizu's movement. Moreover, each time Albizu made a public speech, aside from the recognition of these two flags, a national hymn known as *La Borinqueña* written by Lola Rodriguez de Tió, was sung to initiate each presentation.¹⁹⁹

This hymn goes as follows:

Wake up *Borinqueño*
that the signal has been given!
Wake up from that dream,
because it is time to fight!

To that patriotic call
Does not your heart burn!
Come, the sound of the canon
will be friendly to us.
Look at the Cuban, s/he is already free,
the machete will give them their freedom.
Already the warring drums
tell us in its beat,
that it is the *manigua* in its place,
in the meeting place.

Beautiful *Borinquen*
Cuba we need to follow.
You have brave sons
who want to fight.
We can no longer be dormant,
we no longer timidly be
allowing them to subjugate us.
We want to be free right now,
and our machete is already sharpened.
Why then
are we to be
so sleepy and deaf

¹⁹⁹Albizu Campos, "El mitin nacionalista celebrado en Mayagüez" [The Nationalist Meeting Celebrated in the Town of Mayagüez], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 184.

and deaf to that signal?

We don't have to fear, *riqueños*
the sound of the cannon.
We no longer want despots!
Let the tyrant fall!
Undaunted women
will also know how to fight.
We want our freedom,
and our machete will give it to us.
Let's go *Borinquenas*, let's go now,
that freedom awaits anxiously,
freedom, freedom, freedom,
freedom.²⁰⁰

In addition, Albizu begins to embrace a third flag, which was created by Don Angel Cambor, a Uruguayan Captain who had created an international flag for the Hispanic American race. Albizu used the flag to represent a “common symbol which meant common action.”²⁰¹

In addition to the use of the flag with its accompanying ritual and hymn as a strategy for both inventing a new nationalist tradition and instilling a sense of heraldic civism, Albizu engages in the invention of traditions of historical civism. In a very contradictory yet important way, Albizu inserts the history of the nation and its struggle in several movements which actually challenged the Spanish presence in America. Albizu reconstructs a nationalist genealogy and history in relation to these events and further invents a sense of a historical, civic minded and active citizenry, embodied in founding fathers and heroes, as well as symbolic dates and foundational stories.

In a condensed way, Albizu's examples of historical civism look as follows. The first hero, and by extension the founding father, was Simón Bolívar, who during the

²⁰⁰Although this was the original anthem which Lola Rodríguez de Tió composed, in 1952 the newly elected Puerto Rican legislature decided to change its letters and content to something less subversive and romantic. Thus the new version by Manuel Fernández Juncos.

²⁰¹Albizu Campos, “La bandera de la raza” [The Race Flag], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 34.

early eighteen hundred's led the South American colonies to emancipate from Spain.²⁰² More importantly, the first Puerto Rican hero becomes Antonio de Valero y Bernabe, a creole soldier who joins Bolivar in the wars of South American emancipation. He becomes important by the fact that he fought side by side with Bolivar.²⁰³ Together they symbolized a sense of creole and American commitment to the millenarian struggle for social, political, and economic justice.²⁰⁴

The second, set of founders and most important founding moment occurs on September 23, 1868 with *El Grito de Lares*, this was a creole uprising which essentially challenged the Spanish injustices that were being committed against Puerto Ricans in the island. Although there was a strong emancipatory feeling at the time, the better armed Spanish soldiers destroyed the insurrection within a couple of days. In addition the main organizer Ramón Emeterio Betances, become founding heroes of the Albizu's nation. In describing this moment and its heroes, Albizu often stated that:

On September 23, 1868, the heroes of Lares taught us that history is written with the most noble blood of our nationality, and that independence, which the supreme good of a people, can only be conquered with bravery and sacrifice.²⁰⁵

²⁰²Albizu Campos, "Los actos celebrados en Lares en conmemoración de la revolución del 68 y del natalicio de Simón Bolívar" [The Celebration of Activities in the City of Lares in Honor of the Revolution of '68, and the Birth of Simón Bolívar], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 276.

²⁰³Albizu Campos, "Los actos celebrados en Lares en conmemoración de la revolución del 68 y del natalicio de Simón Bolívar" [The Celebration of Activities in the City of Lares in Honor of the Revolution of '68, and the Birth of Simón Bolívar], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 276.

²⁰⁴Albizu Campos, "Los actos celebrados en Lares en conmemoración de la revolución del 68 y del natalicio de Simón Bolívar" [The Celebration of Activities in the City of Lares in Honor of the Revolution of '68, and the Birth of Simón Bolívar], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 277.

²⁰⁵"El 23 de septiembre de 1868, los héroes de Lares nos enseñaron que la historia se escribe con la sangre más noble de la nacionalidad, y que la independencia, que es el supremo bien de un pueblo, se conquista solamente con valor y sacrificio." Albizu Campos, "Proclama sobre el aniversario de la revolución de Lares: 1934" [Proclamation on the Lares Revolution: 1934], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 52.

In addition to Albizu's eulogizing of these heroes as founding fathers, he carefully placed a number of pictures of each behind him every time he gave a presentation or appeared in a public place.²⁰⁶ It was as if they were watching over Albizu and the crowd. Albizu also embraces the custom of closing each of his speeches with the founding date of the nation. In other words he established the date of the Lares revolution as the founding moment of the Puerto Rican Republic, and each year was measured in relation to 1868.

Another pantheon of heroes whom are worth mentioning, were those creole Puerto Ricans who became internationally renowned throughout the eighteen hundreds and the early nineteen hundreds, for their contributions to society. In Albizu's own words they were:

Great men in all of the fields of human conquest which honor their native land: privileged minds like Stahl and Tanguis in the natural sciences; Morel Campos, a musical genius; Oller and Campeche, master of painting; great thinkers like De Hostos; poets who were inspired in pure spirituality, like Gautier Benítez; seafaring men in the like of the great Ramón Power; liberating soldiers of the New World, in the likes of Marshall Valero and General Rius Rivera; statesmen and patriots like Betances; and spiritual leaders of a generous, hospitalarian, and pacific nation, like Bishop Arizmendi.²⁰⁷

These men, for women somehow played an invisible role, were symbolic of the great achievements of Puerto Ricans. This is of major importance for Albizu's movement, because at the time of the U.S. occupation, Puerto Ricans were not allowed to govern themselves on the grounds that they were not only considered inferior and uneducated,

²⁰⁶Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 88.

²⁰⁷“Grandes hombres en todos los campos de la conquista humana hacían honor a su tierra natal: mentalidades privilegiadas como Stahl y Tanguis en las ciencias naturales; Morel Campos el genio musical; Oller y Campeche, maestros en la pintura; grandes pensadores como De Hostos; poetas inspirados de pura espiritualidad como Gautier Benítez; hombres de mar de la grandeza de Ramón Power; soldados libertadores del Nuevo Mundo, como el mariscal Valero y el general Rius Rivera; estadistas y patriotas como Betances; directores espirituales de una nación generosa, hospitalaria y pacífica, el Obispo Arizmendi.” Albizu Campos, “Las Aspiraciones del Partido Nacionalista” [The Nationalist Party's Aspirations], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: p. 64.

but more importantly the achievements of Puerto Rican's were slowly being erased from the popular history, and replaced with U.S. stereotypes of the uncivilized behavior of the conquered native. For Albizu, a Harvard educated lawyer with multiple other achievements, this was more than an insult. This attitude represented a denial of the recognition of Puerto Rican humanity. In other words, this hierarchy placed the Puerto Rican in a second class status, below a human being and above an animal, or as Albizu used to say, a "slave".

Moreover, this sets the vision for his critique on the U.S. imperial civilizing project. Albizu's idea of a superior nationhood relied on a characterization of Puerto Rico as a civilized nation with a higher culture of international prestige. Regarding this civilization, Albizu argued that "(n)o colonial regime is acceptable in a country like ours, with a civilization that is more ancient than that of its rulers and a culture at least equal to that of theirs."²⁰⁸ In other words, for Albizu the United States, a nation which was formed some two hundred plus years after the formation of Puerto Rico, and which further treated Puerto Ricans as ignorant, underdeveloped people, had no legitimate claim to its paternalistic adoption of the island's people. Furthermore, as I will discuss later, it is in this historical claim where Albizu finds the legitimacy for an articulation of his idea of nationhood.

Albizu further uses the "law" as a historical marker. He situates the formation of the Puerto Rican nation, and the further legitimacy of his movement in several international treaties and laws. For Albizu, the Puerto Rican nation existed as a direct result of Spain's recognition of Puerto Rican autonomy under the Charter of Autonomy of

²⁰⁸Ningún régimen colonial es aceptable en un país como el nuestro, de una civilización más antigua que las de sus gobernantes y de una cultura por lo menos igual a la de éstos." Albizu Campos, "El estado federal no es aceptable porque destruirá nuestra personalidad colectiva" [The Federal State is not Acceptable for it will Destroy our Collective Personality], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 15.

1897²⁰⁹, prior to Spain's ceding of the island to the U.S. under the Spanish-Cuban-American War peace accords as outlined in the Treaty of Paris of 1898²¹⁰. Albizu's argument relied on an interpretation of the Charter of Autonomy of 1897, which guaranteed the insular government of the island of Puerto Rico a number of participatory rights in the decision-making process of any legislation that would affect the island's economic, legislative and political welfare.²¹¹ Albizu argued that the US had not only violated international law, but was also illegally occupying the island, since the Puerto Rican Parliament had not participated in the negotiations and drafting of the Treaty of Paris of 1897.²¹² Thus this treaty was not only null and void, but Puerto Rico was being subjected to a colonial enslavement which denied its previously granted sovereignty.

A major "symbol" of Albizu's nationalism was the person of José De Diego.²¹³ De Diego had been a famous island politician who at the turn of the century had defended a liberal vision of independence at the turn of the century. More importantly, De Diego, a famous island Freemason²¹⁴, had recognized the young Albizu Campos' talent and with

²⁰⁹Alfonso L García Martínez, ed. Puerto Rico: leyes fundamentales [Puerto Rico: Fundamental Laws], Carta Autonómica de 1897 (Charter of Autonomy of 1897), (Rio Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1982), p. 97.

²¹⁰García Martínez, Tratado de Paris de 1898 [Treaty of Paris of 1898], art. 2, p. 118.

²¹¹Pedro Albizu Campos, "Nulidad del Tratado de Paris" [Nullity of the Treaty of Paris], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: pp. 16-24.

²¹²Albizu Campos, "Nulidad del Tratado de Paris" [Nullity of the Treaty of Paris], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: p. 16.

²¹³Albizu Campos, "Conmemoración del natalicio de José de Diego" [Commemoration of the Birth of José de Diego], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: p. 81.

²¹⁴Ironically Albizu was a fervent anti-mason, claiming that Freemasonry was an Anglo-American instrument of imperialism, used to Americanize its members. Nevertheless many of Albizu's closest friends, and supporters, were Freemasons.

some Masonic scholarship founding had enabled Albizu to pursue a higher education, originally starting at the University of Vermont, and later at Harvard University.

Albizu, however, uses the image of De Diego, to further construct a metaphysical genealogy, linking his movement to a historical continuation of nationalist struggles.

Thus, he argued that:

we cultivate the remembrance of our founding fathers. Our cult is not a cult to the memory of the dead, it is a cult to the memory of the immortals. Today is the birth of the great De Diego, a precursor of this great movement.²¹⁵

In addition, what further makes De Diego an important symbol, perhaps by calculated coincidence, was the fact that the first nationalist martyr dies on the date of his birth, April 16, 1932. On April 16, 1932, Albizu organizes a protest on a legislation which would enable the Puerto Rican flag to become a national symbol of the colony. In protest to this affront to the dignity of the nation, Albizu rallies a crowd to which he had been addressing a speech in Old San Juan, and moves to make their presence in the Capitol building, where the Puerto Rican legislators were meeting. Although what happened during this time is not clear, there was a commotion and a railing on an upper floor gave way to anavalanching a group of protesters and in the process killed Manuel Rafael Suárez Díaz.²¹⁶ Suárez Díaz became the first hero to enter the pantheon of immortality of the new nationalist movement, having died on the same day that De Diego had been born during the previous century.

This sets the precedence for three major mass murders committed by the Insular U.S. Police force, that not only fuel Albizu's nationalism, but set the stage for the historization of public martyrs and symbols of the nation. More importantly these three

²¹⁵“...nosotros cultivamos la memoria de los próceres. Nuestro culto no es el culto a la memoria de los muertos, es el culto a la memoria de los inmortales. Hoy es el natalicio del gran De Diego, el precursor de este gran movimiento.” Albizu Campos, “Commemoración del natalicio de José de Diego” [Commemoration of the Birth of José de Diego], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: p. 80.

²¹⁶Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, pp. 79-81.

massacres set the standard for the creed to which all nationalists were to ascribe to. The first was the Rio Piedras Masacre, where four nationalists were murdered by a trigger happy Police force.²¹⁷ The second was the resulting vengeance of Hiram Rosado and Elías Beauchamp, who were murdered by the Police in a Police station shortly after they had avenged their comrades by executing the chief of Police Elisha Riggs in 1936.²¹⁸ And the third major historization of public martyrs and individuals resulted from the mass murder known as the Ponce Masacre on March 21, 1937, where the insular police forced indiscriminately opened fire upon a couple hundred peaceful marchers. Together these three events created enough anger amongst the Puerto Rican people, to fuel and legitimate Albizu's nationalism. More importantly, these murders created contemporary martyrs-it turned public individuals into historical martyrs consolidating Albizu's invention of traditions of struggle and patriotic duty to Albizu's nationalism. They also became immortal dates in the pantheon of abuses committed by the invading empire, an empire which neither wanted to fully integrate Puerto Ricans into their community, nor wanted to let go of the island and recognize its capacity for self-governance.

This historical civism of struggle was further embodied, or rather materialized in the bodies of two para-military orders, the Cadets of the Republic and the Nurses of the Liberating Army of the Republic. The Cadets were soldiers of the nation who originally started off as an independent military organization of University students concerned with political action. They subsequently became the armed wing of the Nationalist Party, wearing the controversial Black Shirts and white pants, as well as a white

²¹⁷For a more in depth historical discussion of the events please refer to Chapter II, and to Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, pp. 205-226.

²¹⁸Albizu Campos, "Duelo a los Héroes Elías Beauchamp e Hiram Rosado" [Honoring the Heroes Elías Beauchamp and Hiram Rosado], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: p. 25.

cross.²¹⁹ By contrast the Nurses of the Liberating Army of the Republic were the feminine branch of the military wing of the Nationalist Party. Women were relegated to the role of curing and taking care of the nation and its soldiers.

These two symbols of national action signified not only a commitment to the liberation of the nation by any means necessary, but the ideal civism of a committed nationalist. In other words, this code of military civism placed the ideals of moral civism, namely patriotic duty, sacrifice, bravery, and immortality in the bodies of national citizens. It defined the commitment of the nationalist through an articulation of the guarantees of safety and security, and the creation of masses of heroes, namely everyday soldiers.

We can hear an example of these spectacles of military civism in one of Juan Antonio Corretjer discussions of a national competition between various battalions of the Cadets of the Republic. The following is a brief account of parts of the festivities which due to the nature of the text I will quote *in extenso*:

“Forward, March!” Were the Cadets entering the Town of Lares at nine in the morning of September 23, to honor the martyrs of Independence in the very cradle of the Republic...The file is opened by the “Suárez Díaz” battalion from Utuado, and its closed by the powerful Caguas battalion, with their riffles on their shoulders. Beautiful little girls, in whose gaze the sun shines of untouched innocence, carry, spread out, a beautiful national flag.

Afternoon Events

1-Military Games.

At three p.m. drums and bugles announce the commencement of the exercises. Five towns concur in the performance of exercises in closed rank and file. The trophy is given to the “Suárez Díaz” from Utuado...

2-Presentation of the Race Flag.

The battalions form a rectangle around which a great multitude crowds... In the silence of the afternoon, the voice of the President announces that at that moment there will be a ceremony to raise the Flag of the Race, which is representative of the civilization in the world...

The Lares flag is raised to the right... Lieutenant don Francisco Sabat Alvarez, of the “Suárez Díaz” performs the honorary guard...

The single starred flag is raised...

²¹⁹The Cadets uniforms were in a major way the fundamental reason why most of Albizu’s critiques attach the label of fascist to him.

3-War Exercises.

The Caguas battalion joyfully performs in front of the pavilions which the southern winds bring... The exhibition consists of three movements: an attack, a counter-attack with the bayonet, and a change of positions under fire. The nation openly cheers and applauds in light of the unexpected skills, precision, and discipline.

4-National Assembly.

The National Assembly is opened with the ritualistic words of Albizu Campos, the President...

Presidential speech...²²⁰

²²⁰“ ‘De frente. ¡Marchen!’ Son los Cadetes entrando en Lares a las nueve de la mañana del 23 de septiembre, para rendir homenaje a los mártires de la Independencia en la cuna misma de la República...Abre la columna el batallón “Suárez Díaz”, de Utuado y la cierra, rifle al hombro, el poderoso batallón de Caguas. Niñas preciosas, en cuya mirada brilla el sol de una intacta inocencia, portan, desplegada, una hermosa bandera nacional.

1-Concurso Militar

A las 3:00 P.M. clarines y tambores anuncian el comienzo de los ejercicios. Cinco pueblos concurren al concurso de ejercicios en columna cerrada. El trofeo corresponde al “Suárez Díaz”, de Utuado.

2-Presentación de la Bandera de la Raza.

Los batallones forman un rectángulo alrededor del cual se apiña una multitud... En el silencio de la tarde, la voz del señor Presidente anuncia que, en esos momentos se efectuará la ceremonia para izar la Bandera de la Raza, representativa de la civilización en el mundo...

Va a izarse, a la izquierda, la bandera de Lares... Le hace guardia de honor el teniente don Francisco Sabat Alvarez, del “Suárez Díaz”...

Va a izarse la bandera monoestrellada...

3-Ejercicios de Guerra.

Ante los pabellones que la brisa del sur bate en alegría el batallón de Caguas se despliega... La exhibición consta de tres movimientos: un ataque, un contra-ataque a la bayoneta y un cambio de posiciones bajo fuego. Ante la destreza, exactitud y disciplina casi inesperada rompe en vivas y aplausos el pueblo.

4-Asamblea Nacional.

En la Asamblea Nacional abre con las palabras de ritual el señor presidente Albizu Campos...

Discurso Presidencial...” Juan Antonio Corretjer, “Lares, Puerto Rico, 23 de septiembre” [Lares, Puerto Rico, September 23], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: pp. 55-57.

In a sense the body of the individual amalgamates with the organic nation.²²¹ This military civism embodied in the Cadet, and the Nurse, participates in shaping the idea of the nation. However, the martial spectacle is an aesthetic partner to Albizu's moral civism. This code, or rather intrinsic mobilizing force demands that the national citizen embrace a spirit of bravery, sacrifice, and activism for the nation. This commitment, for Albizu, became in a sense the mobilizing force which linked the nationalist to a cult to his imagining of the nation. In a more historical way Albizu's notions of moral civism are reminiscent of a plethora of ideologies ranging from a *Falangista*, to a fascist, to a pre-modern vision of the crusades. The national citizen was expected to be willing to sacrifice both the spiritual being as well as his or her material wealth.²²² Two statements of this vision can help us understand Albizu's idealization of the cult of patriotic duty and nationalism present in his invented traditions of moral civism:

Bravery is the most enduring value of man. Bravery is the supreme virtue of man, and it is cultivated in the way that all virtues are cultivated, and it can be lost in the way that all virtue is lost. The supreme good in the individual is his bravery. A man who lacks bravery is not worth anything even if he is full of wisdom and physical vitality. That is the supreme god of the individual and the nation. For bravery is the only thing that allows for the transmutation of man for superior purposes. Bravery is what allows man to serenely and steadfastly stroll over the shadows of death and when man serenely travels across the shadows of death, it is then when he has entered the immortal realm.²²³

²²¹Juan Antonio Corretjer, "Lares, Puerto Rico, 23 de septiembre" [Lares, Puerto Rico, September 23], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 57.

²²²Albizu Campos, "El Lcdo. Pedro Albizu Campos fue electo Presidente del Partido Nacionalista" [The Hon. Albizu Campos was Elected President of the Nationalist Party], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 87.

²²³"El valor más permanente en el hombre es el valor. El valor es la suprema virtud del hombre y se cultiva como se cultiva toda virtud, y se puede perder como se perder toda virtud. El valor en el individuo es su supremo bien. De nada vale al hombre estar lleno de sabiduría y de vitalidad física si le falta valor. Ese es el supremo bien del individuo y de la nación. Por que el valor es lo único que permite la transmutación del hombre para fines superiores. El valor es lo que permite al hombre pasearse firme y serenamente sobre las sombras de la muerte y cuando el hombre pasa tranquilamente sobre las sombras de la muerte, entonces es que el hombre entra en la inmortalidad." Albizu Campos, "Epigrafe" [Epigraph], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 5.

and:

Nationalism does not inspire anyone to enter its ranks. When somebody comes to our side we tell him that our table is humble (*rasa*), that it is empty, that we do not place on it a single dish of our budget. That he needs to be strong, healthy, invigorated, because the people need to redeem themselves with physical strength. That he has to be serene, and above all, posses great personal bravery: not the bravery of violence, but ice cold, that he not think in his housing, in his wife, in his children, the day in which he is called to a mission which could cost him his life. That he needs to bring all of his material resources to offer them for the freedom of his nation (*Patria*).²²⁴

It is within this context that we should understand Albizu's famous quote: "The nation is bravery and sacrifice."²²⁵

In addition, Albizu Campos ideology also embraces a notion of economic civism which participates in the invention of traditions of patriotic nationalism. This economic civism meant that the nationalist had a financial commitment to the nation, and through an active participation would financially contribute to the realization of the nation. However, while Albizu's reliance on commercial symbols and signifiers is not as organized nor developed as Marcus Garvey's program, he does rely on the naming of places to signify nationalist spaces with a commitment to the liberation of the nation. These places represented a financial commitment to the nationalist ideology, and signified a public support for this political movement. Of the multiple financial institutions which participated in encouraging a commitment to Albizu's nationalism, two places stand out, *La Borinquen* Bar Restaurant, which was located adjacent to the

²²⁴"El Nacionalismo no alienta a nadie a ingresar en sus filas. Cuando alguien viene a nuestro lado le decimos que nuestra mesa es tabla rasa, que está vacía, que no se pone en ella ni un solo plato del presupuesto. Que necesita ser fuerte, sano, vigoroso, porque los pueblos para redimirse necesitan fortaleza física. Que tiene que ser sereno, y sobre todo, poseer un gran valor personal: no el valor de la violencia, sino frío, que no piense en su hacienda, en su mujer, en sus hijos, el día que se le llame para una misión que pueda costarle la vida. Que tiene que traer todos los recursos materiales que posea para ofrendarlos en aras de la libertad de su Patria." Albizu Campos, "Epigrafe" [Epigraph], in *Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas*, Vol. III: p. 5.

²²⁵"La Patria es valor y sacrificio" Albizu Campos, "La patria es valor y sacrificio" [The Nation is Bravery and Sacrifice], in *Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas*, Vol. II: p. 108.

Nationalist Party's Headquarters and Albizu's personal residence, and *El Salón Boricua*, the Barber Shop of Vidal Santiago, both Albizu's personal barber and a controversial nationalist.

La²²⁶ Borinquen was a Bar and Restaurant located below Albizu's residence, which was also located adjacent to the Nationalist Party headquarters in Old San Juan, Puerto Rico. *Borinquen* is a creole word for the word *Borikén* which was the name that the pre-Colombian inhabitants of Puerto Rico named the island. In a sense this naming of Puerto Rico signified a relationship to a romanticized Puerto Rican, namely the creole, in difference to an English naming of the place. Nonetheless, the use of the words "Bar Rest." suggest an Anglicized notion of the place. However, what is important for Albizu's nationalism is that this place signified his devotion and commitment by establishing that he lived "in" the Party, and that the Party was a part of his everyday life. In other words Albizu's residence signified that the Nationalist Party was an integral part of both his public and private life, he lived within this organism and he was a living part of this institution.

The word *Boricua* means a person who is from *Borinquen*, or Puerto Rico. The *Salón Boricua* was Albizu's Barber Shop. His barber, Vidal Santiago, was a devoted nationalist. In addition to this place being a public space for discussion where people gathered to exchange information and dialogue, as well as strategize, this place became known as a nationalist "Alamo" during the "insurrection" of 1950. Here, when the Insular Police and the National Guard attacked the *Salón Boricua* on October 31, 1950, Vidal Santiago held off fifteen Police and Twenty-five National Guards men for several hours. Although badly wounded and having miraculously survived, Vidal Santiago

²²⁶I think that there is something to be said about Albizu's use of gender, and more particularly about the attachment of identities which Albizu imposes on women. Clearly, Albizu's notion of the woman as the "mother of the nation" and as a reproductive symbol is problematic, however, due to time constraints I will not engage in a critique of Albizu's sexism.

carried on a small war against overwhelming odds, and managed to inflict some casualties.²²⁷ He has become a symbol of the moral commitment, sacrifice, and bravery which the nationalist was supposed to embrace. More especially, he signified that with a true devotion David could fight Goliath, or the nationalist could fight the US no matter how overwhelming the odds were. For subsequent nationalists this place has become a symbol of the power of devotion and sacrifice to the ideals of the nation, further signifying how this devotion can empower one man to take on forty enemies.

A Three Dimensional Nation

For Albizu Campos, the nation represented the materialization of the first stage of a logical realization of a millenarian project which culminated with the establishment of Ibero-American hegemony. Puerto Rican nationalism, Albizu suggests, was the reclaiming of a distinct colonized national space through the continuance of a millenarian struggle for social, economic, and political justice. This nation, Albizu argued, existed in three dimensions, namely in the guise of a Constitutional Republic claiming nationalized economic and juridical rights; a sovereign and independent power demanding the right to establish national boundaries and the power to be the supreme arbiter of its space; and an international personality which could exist as an equal in the international arena. Within this context I will continue to problematize Albizu's idea of the nation through a discussion of these three dimensions and their relationship to a homogenizing definition of the nation. Albizu's realization of the nation, however, was only to be the first step towards a larger realization which Albizu outlines as follows:

1. The immediate restoration of the Republic of Puerto Rico.
2. The Antillian Confederation, inclusive of the Republic of Haiti.
3. The Iberian American Union.
4. The hegemony of the Iberian American nations in the New World.²²⁸

²²⁷Seijo Bruno, pp. 179-181.

²²⁸“

1. La restauración inmediata de la República de Puerto Rico.
2. La Confederación Antillana, incluyendo en ella a la República de Haití.
3. La unión Ibero-Americana.

The idea of the Constitutional Republic, which was created out of a Constitutive Convention where Puerto Ricans would be elected by the island's population²²⁹, entailed the establishment of "laws which would favor native interests and prohibit the penetration of invading interests or make it difficult for the permanence of already established foreign interests..."²³⁰ Presumably these interests were inclusive, but not limited to, the monopoly of land, local industries, and the economy in general. Albizu argued that the law was the "watch dog" of any government²³¹ and Puerto Rico lacked any form of sovereignty since any court decision could always be appealed to two superior courts, namely the Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston, and the Supreme Court in Washington D.C. Thus in order to guarantee that the Puerto Rican people would not be exploited and abused, the nation depended on a strong sense of the law. The relationship of the law to the nation's governance, can be summarized in Albizu's own words:

...the Executive has to dedicate itself to the strict enforcement of these laws with the patriotic zeal which informs them, surrounding itself with people who are committed to the enforcement of respect for the country's rights; and finally, the courts need to interpret these legal dispositions with the spirit of national conservation, and can not open the way in any form of sentencing which may favor the continuation or further penetration of the invading interests which are already established.²³²

4. La hegemonía en el Nuevo Mundo de las naciones Ibero-americanas." Albizu Campos, "La Bandera de la raza" [The Race Flag], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 31.

²²⁹Albizu Campos, "La Convención Constituyente" [The Constitutive Convention], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. III: p. 115.

²³⁰"... leyes que favorecen a los intereses nativos y prohíban la entrada de intereses invasores o dificulten la permanencia de intereses extranjeros ya establecidos..." Albizu Campos, "Nacionalización de la riqueza extranjera" [Nationalization of Foreign Wealth], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 147.

²³¹Albizu Campos, "La judicatura y el anexionismo" [The Judiciary and Anexionism], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 107.

²³²"... el Ejecutivo tiene que dedicarse al cumplimiento estricto de estas leyes con el celo patriótico que las informa rodeándose de personal dispuesto a hacer prestar los derechos del país; y finalmente los tribunales tienen que interpretar estas

A second dimension of the nation is the idea of sovereignty. As I have begun to suggest, this idea is intertwined with the realization of national independence, which fundamentally meant, for Albizu, the power to regulate commerce and economic relations. Sovereignty guaranteed the possibility of a national economy and control over the resources and capital which entered as well as left the nation. This sovereignty, Albizu argued, was materialized with the control of tariffs and free trade. Thus Albizu argued:

Such is the situation which Puerto Rico is facing against the United States. ...We have also seen that the struggle for political autonomy or for absolute independence has always relied on economic independence as a base which is not possible without the independence of tariffs and the termination of free trade.²³³

Albizu's argument was simply that the U.S. establishment of regulatory tariffs for Puerto Rico was detrimental because it favored its economic interests by making it harder for other nations from the international community to trade with the island. More Albizu argued, that the imposition of US tariffs made Puerto Rico a domestic nation in the international community, and a foreign nation for US national interests.²³⁴

This interpretation of the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States resulted from a reading of both the Foraker Act of 1900 and a series of Supreme Court

disposiciones legales con ese espíritu de conservación nacional y no puede abrir brecha en sentencia alguna que favorezca la continuación de intereses invasores o mayor penetración de los ya establecidos." Albizu Campos, "Nacionalización de la riqueza extranjera" [Nationalization of Foreign Wealth], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: pp. 147-148.

²³³"Tal es el caso de Puerto Rico frente a Estados Unidos.... Hemos visto también que la lucha por la autonomía política o por la Independencia absoluta ha tenido siempre or base la Independencia económica que no es posible sin la Independencia arancelaria y la terminación del cabotaje libre." Albizu Campos, "Nacionalización de la riqueza extranjera" [Nationalization of Foreign Wealth], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 141.

²³⁴Albizu Campos, "En torno a la situación bancaria de Puerto Rico se dirige el Partido Nacionalista al Presidente del Senado" [The Nationalist Party Addresses the President of the Senate Regarding the Puerto Rican Banking Situation], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 242.

decisions which became known as the Insular Cases. The Foraker Act of 1900 essentially “created a civil government to replace military rule” and further established that all U.S. laws:

...were to apply to Puerto Rico except where specifically identified as being inapplicable. The act declared U.S. currency to be the legal tender, and provided for a resident commissioner to represent the island in the U.S. Congress. The act also provided that the U.S. tariffs on goods imported into Puerto Rico would be remitted to the Puerto Rican government, and that temporary duties and taxes on goods shipped between Puerto Rico and the United States would be returned to the Puerto Rican treasury.²³⁵

However, the Foraker Act “did not resolve some important questions on Puerto Rican legal status”, which in turn led to the Insular Cases.²³⁶ The U.S. Supreme Court found that:

the fundamental rights of U.S. citizenship applied to Puerto Ricans. It also decided that Puerto Rico was an “unincorporated territory;” that is, one which all of the provisions of the U.S. Constitution had not been expressly extended. It therefore held that Congress could continue to impose duties on goods coming into the United States from Puerto Rico.²³⁷

A third dimension of Albizu’s nationalism, also intertwined with the idea of sovereignty, articulated a position of international personality and equal standing in the international arena. Albizu condemned the “colonial” status of Puerto Rico and demanded its immediate admission to the “society of nations.”²³⁸ He argued that under the island’s status there was only one sovereign and one personality, namely that of the

²³⁵United States General Accounting Office, Briefing Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Insular and International Affairs, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, Puerto Rico: Information for Status Deliberations (Washington, D.C.: GO, 1990), p.12.

²³⁶United States General Accounting Office, Puerto Rico: Information for Status Deliberations, p. 12.

²³⁷United States General Accounting Office, Puerto Rico: Information for Status Deliberations, p. 12.

²³⁸Albizu Campos, “Proclama del Partido Nacionalista con motivo del 23 de septiembre” [Nationalist party Proclamation Regarding September 23], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 205.

United States.²³⁹ In sum the recognition of a national personality in the international arena, Albizu argued, would be a guarantee that Puerto Rico could engage the United States as well as any other nation, as one equal to another. For Albizu this personality meant equality on a larger global scale, and ultimately guaranteed that the nation could have control over its own space.²⁴⁰ Needless to say, international personality, neither historically, nor during Albizu's historical moment, as he himself new, guaranteed equality.²⁴¹

Independence as Economic Justice

The very idea of independence required the realization of the nation. What is interesting, however, is that Albizu realized the nation prior to the idea of independence through a juridical interpretation of a number of treaties made between Puerto Rico and Spain, as well as Spain and the United States. The nation, in a sense, had resulted through its evolving relationship with Spain. Independence was to give Puerto Rico the sovereignty it needed to become a collective juridical person, for international purposes, and a Constitutional Republic for national purposes. Through this juridical status Puerto Rico would develop its own economic policy, privileging its economic interests and providing a more egalitarian system of governance while securing its sources of wealth and capital.

Albizu argued that independence was the enabling factor of judicial independence which in turn would give the nation the power to establish a just economic order. While

²³⁹Albizu Campos, "Pedro Albizu Campos: La Resolución Conjunta Numero 2" [Pedro Albizu Campos: The Second Collective Resolution], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 21.

²⁴⁰Albizu Campos, "El Partido Nacionalista celebró ayer asamblea general en el Teatro Municipal de San Juan: Candidaturas Electorales proclamadas" [The nationalist Party Celebrated their General Assembly Yesterday in the Municipal Theater of San Juan: Electoral Candidates were Proclaimed], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 225.

²⁴¹Albizu Campos, "Proclama ante la muerte de Sandino" [Condemnation of Sandino's Death], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 21.

there were many social, political and economic factors which influenced Albizu's recognition for economic justice, four major economic issues can be said to have made it imperative for Albizu to incorporate a program for economic and commercial independence. The first, and perhaps more historical, was the currency exchange which the Foraker Act of 1900 imposed on the island. Under the new law, the U.S. dollar would be the new currency of the island and it established a rate of sixty Spanish cents for every dollar.²⁴² The most important result was that it disempowered the creole and Spanish hierarchies, effectively redefining the economic power bases of the island. In effect this further enabled U.S. investors to buy up huge amounts of the most fertile lands of the island, where they eventually established sugar cane plantations. The second major issue at hand was the fact that there were huge labor strikes occurring across the island, especially in the sugar cane plantations, challenging the unfair wages and exploitation of Puerto Rican workforce. Albizu was actually invited to lead some of these protests²⁴³, but after intervening in one of the major sugar cane workers strike, and seeing how the laborers had been appeased through a mere increase in their wages, he became disenchanted with the possibility of a working class movement. His rational was that the worker was only concerned with making a better economic living, and all one had to do to solve his problems was to buy him off. In addition the island was also being affected by the general economic depression which was affecting the United States. Arguably another major source of influence in Albizu's ideology was the existence of an active Socialist Party which further enjoyed support among the labor forces in the island, thus challenging the interests of the Nationalist Party.

²⁴²García Martínez, *Acta Foraker* [Foraker Act of 1900], art. 11, pp. 134-135.

²⁴³Albizu Campos, "Pedro Albizu Campos: La esclavitud azucarera" [Pedro Albizu Campos: The Sugarcane Slavery], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: pp. 15-20.

Within this context Albizu articulates an initial national “Economic Program” which originally outlined the following goals:

1. A retroactive redistribution of land to Puerto Ricans.
2. The industrialization of the country.
3. The development of Puerto Rico’s seafaring activities and maritime commerce to make Puerto Rico a maritime nation as established by its condition as an island.
4. To raise the standard of living of our labor force.²⁴⁴

However, Albizu’s argument for economic independence relied on the power to control what entered and exited the nation which Albizu identified in the setting of tariffs, and the regulation of free trade.²⁴⁵ He argued that the imposition of tariffs made it impossible for other nations to engage in commercial relations with the island. Whereas the free trade relationship between Puerto Rico and the U.S. simply flooded the island with goods that were barely fit for human consumption, and in the process it made it impossible for other nations to compete with the U.S. prices. Economic independence would enable the Puerto Rican government to begin to regain control over its borders and consequently its national space.

In addition, the power to regulate the internal economy would further enable the nation to challenge the existing U.S. monopolies by demanding that these operate in the interests of the nation, even if they were not necessary in the interests of its parent nation.²⁴⁶ Eventually the nation would begin to redistribute its wealth through a

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1. Retroaer nuestras tierras a manos Puertorriqueñas.
 2. Industrialización del país.
 3. Desarrollar la vida marítima y commercial para hacer de Puerto Rico un país esencialmente marítimo según indica su condición de isla.
 4. Levantar el standard de vida de nuestros trabajadores.” Albizu

Campos, “El Lcdo. Albizu Campos respondiendo a la idea del Sr. Barcelo somete a la consideración del país un nuevo plan para la formación de la alianza puertorriqueña” [The Hon. Albizu Campos Responds to an Idea Submitted by Mr. Barcelo to Consider a New Plan for the Formation of a Puerto Rican Alliance], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 25.

²⁴⁵Albizu Campos, “Independencia economica” [Economic Independence], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 112.

²⁴⁶Albizu Campos, “Nacionalización de la riqueza extranjera” [Nationalization of Foreign Wealth], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 143.

nationalization project. More importantly above all else, economic independence was the heart of the nation, without such independence the nation could not exist. Hence in Albizu's own words:

The nation cannot exist without possession of all of its material wealth. In order to guarantee the life of the nationality all of its agricultural, industrial, commercial, communications, franchises and any form of wealth needs to be in the hands of its natives. Insurance agencies, banking institutions, and any organism dedicated to the mobilization of wealth needs to belong to the national interests.²⁴⁷

The question which we must, however, consider is whether all natives actually represented the nation and its national economic interests. In the case of Puerto Rico, as perhaps in the case of most modern nations, not all of the national bourgeoisie have embraced the radical nationalisms which could challenge their status, their positions, or even their own interests. In fact if anything is to be said about the political stance which Puerto Rican bourgeoisie have “traditionally” embraced, I suspect that we can establish that there has been a vision of autonomy of the nation. In other words, if history is an indicator of some norms, I think it is possible to suggest that the local Puerto Rican bourgeoisie have historically supported an autonomic status quo that would not threaten their economic interests. This is not to say that there have not been any other nationalist bourgeoisie which have embraced the nation as the legitimate solution to their problems, perhaps with the hope of repositioning themselves as heads of the nation, but it is rather it is to reaffirm both the pretensions of the nationalists and the untenability of a nationalist project in Puerto Rico.

²⁴⁷“La nación no puede existir sin la posesión de toda su riqueza material. La agrícola, la industria, el comercio, las comunicaciones, franquicias, y toda forma de riqueza tiene que estar en manos nativas para poder asegurar la vida de la nacionalidad. Las compañías de seguro, las instituciones bancarias, y todo organismo dedicado a la movilización de la riqueza, forzoso es que pertenezcan a intereses nacionales.” Albizu Campos, “Nacionalización de la riqueza extranjera” [Nationalization of Foreign Wealth], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 144.

Conclusion

In discussing the relationship of J.M. Toro Nazario, one of over seventy young, committed, and devoted nationalist lawyers working for Albizu's nationalism, Luis Angel Ferrao argues that this nationalism managed to amalgamate a plethora of contradictory ideologies.²⁴⁸ This nationalism both provided for a progressive politics, and yet continued to perpetuate some dangerous conservative traditions. By this I mean to argue that Albizu's nationalism, while embracing an anti-imperialist struggle against the repressive and brutal presence of the United States and its agents, also perpetuated some of the very conservative ideological hierarchies which in similar ways were used to oppress the majority of the island's population. An example of this is that while Albizu's nationalist resistance was mired in an honest attempt to challenge the social, economic, and political injustices which the U.S. and its representatives were committing against the Puerto Rican people in the island, he also articulated a sexist, racist, hispanofilist, and a romantic vision of the nation in its proper place within the international hierarchy of societies.

Perhaps one of the major sources of Albizu's contradictions can be sought in his construction of an identity in direct opposition to the *other* identity, the United States. Albizu embraces as part of his struggle all that is opposed to his enemy. Thus when the United States government capitulated to women's historical struggle for suffrage Albizu, rather than recognizing the progressive advantages of the recognition of a traditionally marginalized citizenry, condemned this idea as a dangerous threat to the nation. Albizu argued that the reigning regime encouraged women to work for three reasons. First, by working, women were supposedly responsible for creating the conditions for low wages. Second, the U.S. sought to divide the Puerto Rican society

²⁴⁸Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, p. 254.

and more importantly to “break-up” the family nucleus.²⁴⁹ And finally, by extension, the economic entitlement of women further encouraged women to embrace a bohemian or bawd.²⁵⁰ For Albizu, women were supposed to be the reproductive agents of the nation.²⁵¹ Much along the same lines of Garvey, women were to be good nationalists by interacting in the private sphere and nursing the nationalist male soldier, while leaving the public realm to the knighted men.

The idea of reducing nationalism to a movement in difference to a demonized other, negated the possibility of articulating a critical, progressive, and fundamentally liberating movement. More especially Albizu’s nationalism denied the possibility of looking at history and at the beast of oppression, and identifying some progressive norms. Albizu’s nationalism became an opposing force which eventually, if successful, would have establish similar, and perhaps even more dangerous norms, than those imposed by the U.S. In a sense the very idea of projecting the enemy as the foreign other allowed Albizu to incorporate conservative ideas and make dangerous alliances as long as they opposed the enemy.

In addition to traditions, the nation was to be unified with the people by a homogenizing force²⁵² which not only instilled a sense of patriotic duty to its members, but also participated in defining its members identities. Albizu argued that this unitary

²⁴⁹Albizu Campos, “El mitin nacionalista celebrado en Mayagüez” [The Nationalist Meeting Celebrated in the Town of Mayagüez], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 184.

²⁵⁰Albizu Campos, “La mujer libertadora” [The Liberating Woman], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 97.

²⁵¹Albizu Campos, “El mitin nacionalista celebrado en Mayagüez” [The Nationalist Meeting Celebrated in the Town of Mayagüez], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 184.

²⁵²Albizu Campos, “El estado federal no es aceptable porque destruirá nuestra personalidad colectiva” [The Federal State is not Acceptable for it will Destroy our Collective Personality], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 15.

strength was to be found in our ethnic and cultural ties.²⁵³ Thus it was the task of the nationalist, Albizu argued, to reclaim the national homogeneity which existed in Puerto Rico prior to the invasion of the United States, and which instilled a “great sense” of social responsibility interested in the mutual aid for the unanimous perpetuation and conservation of the nation.²⁵⁴ For Albizu the resulting identity would have been that of a Catholic, Hispanic, racial culture. In other words the Albizu’s conceptualization of the member of the nation was one who was a devout Catholic, one who identified with Spain as the “motherland,” and who in general identified with the cultural norms defined by Albizu’s nationalism, this later being the same as the race.²⁵⁵

Albizu’s Catholicism was partly defined in multiple ways. On the one hand it was a stance which stood in direct opposition to the intrusion of the Protestant Church, which he identified with the United States. In other words, Albizu identified the Catholic religion, which was the original religion brought to the island by the Spanish empire, as the island’s true religion. On the other hand the Protestant Churches, which came with the intrusion of the United States, were identified as agencies of Anglo-Americanization, and therefore enemies of the nationalist struggle.²⁵⁶ The Catholic church also signified

²⁵³Albizu Campos, “Aquí se dilucidará cuales son los planes y actitud de Estados Unidos hacia los pueblos de nuestra raza” [Here We Will Illustrate what are the Plans and Attitudes of the United States Towards Peoples of Our Race], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 73.

²⁵⁴Albizu Campos, “El mitin nacionalista celebrado en Mayagüez” [The Nationalist Meeting Celebrated in the Town of Mayagüez], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 184.

²⁵⁵An important tension present in Albizu’s ideology, was his definition of race. According to Albizu race had nothing to do with biology, but rather it was a moral set of values. Moreover he is clearly conscious of the condition of apartheid which existed in the United States at the time, but given the available texts it is clear that he refuses to embrace any form of public discussion on the relationship of biological constructions of race to Puerto Rican politics. I am not sure as to whether this is more of a strategic move to create a sense of cohesiveness within the movement, or if there are other impending reasons why the reality of racism and the implications of a discussion of race in Puerto Rican politics is virtually not present in his writings.

²⁵⁶Albizu Campos, “El Presidente del Partido Nacionalista Comenta sobre la toma de posesión del Gobernador Robert H. Gore” [The President of the Nationalist

a solidarity and identification with the Irish nationalist struggles, and more particularly served as a model to which Albizu could compare his struggle.²⁵⁷ In addition, Catholicism served as a homogenizing force in that it established a link not only with the powerful institutions which were operating within the island, but also with the Church beyond the borders of the island, and more especially with all of the former colonies of Spain in America. This latter was of critical importance to Albizu for it was clear that he received financial support from revolutionaries and dictators alike throughout Latin America.²⁵⁸

Albizu's idealization of race as culture is a somewhat more complicated and contradictory endeavor, to say the least. First of all Albizu claimed that Spain was the "mother race" of the Puerto Rican nation.²⁵⁹ Secondly, Albizu argued that the race was a collective symbol of international unity, territorial patrimony, and civilization. More importantly it was a symbol of collective identity and collective action.²⁶⁰ Thirdly, and perhaps more importantly, Albizu argued that race had nothing to do with biology, nor the color of skin, nor the texture of hair, nor the obliquity of the eye, but rather race was:

Party Comments on Governor Robert H. Gore's Installation], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 269.

²⁵⁷Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, p. 274.

²⁵⁸Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, pp. 237-244.

²⁵⁹Albizu Campos, "Un artículo del presidente del Partido Nacionalista con respecto a la legislación neomalthusiana que ha sido presentada" [An Article by the President of the Nationalist Party Regarding the Neomalthusian Legislation which has Been Proposed], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 247.

²⁶⁰Albizu Campos, "La bandera de la raza" [The Race Flag], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: pp. 31-35.

a perpetuation of virtues and characteristic institutions. We distinguish ourselves by our culture, our bravery, our *hidalguía*, and our catholic sense of civilization.²⁶¹

In sum race for Albizu, was a homogenizing ideology which materialized itself through cultural norms. In a sense it served as a strategic tool to consummate a society which in fact felt the divisions of race. The same divisions which prompted an Anglo-American medical doctor working in the island, and financed by the Rockefeller Institute, to suggest that Puerto Rico would be an ideal place to work if it were not for the “Porto Ricans” which:

are beyond doubt the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerate and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere. It makes you sick to inhabit the same island with them. They are even lower than Italians. What the island needs is not public health work but a tidal wave or something to totally exterminate the population. It might then be livable. I have done my best to further the process of extermination by killing off 8 and transplanting cancer into several more.²⁶²

Moreover, it also prompted Albizu to accuse the United States of promoting national divisions by politically empowering a man of the “African” race in a country in which the majority population was white, Puerto Rico.²⁶³ In the case of his statements of race, rather than establishing a critique of the conservative Puerto Rican Republican Party’s empowerment of Dr. José C. Barbosa on the grounds of his ideological alliances and beliefs, Albizu simply condemns him on the grounds that he was a black

²⁶¹“... es una perpetuidad de virtudes y de instituciones características. Nos distinguimos por nuestra cultura, por nuestro valor, por nuestra hidalguía, por nuestro sentido católico de la civilización.” Albizu Campos, “Concepto de la Raza” [The Concept of Race], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: pp. 118-119.

²⁶²Pedro I. Aponte Vázquez, Crónica de un encubrimiento: Albizu Campos y el Caso Rhoads [A Chronology of a Conspiracy: Albizu Campos and the Rhoads Case], (San Juan: Publicaciones René, 1992), p. 17.

²⁶³Albizu Campos, “El mitin nacionalista celebrado en Mayagüez” [The Nationalist Meeting Celebrated in the Town of Mayagüez], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 185.

man operating in a white man's society.²⁶⁴ Even if we recognized the U.S. strategic interests, what is even more problematic is that rather than recognizing the progressive significance of this act, namely the possibility of opening public institutions to the participation of black Puerto Ricans, something that perhaps would probably never have happened under the Spanish monarchy, Albizu condemns this act as a U.S. strategy to divide and subsequently conquer the nation. To be sure, the idea of race, as a biological or rather eugenic construction, permeated every strata of the social, economic and the political space of Puerto Rico, yet Albizu only focused a critique against U.S. apartheid²⁶⁵ and their interaction with the island and condemned any progressive efforts that challenged the status quo.

While in practice Albizu's rhetoric was inconsistent with his theory²⁶⁶, there are some clear dangers inherent in this articulation of identity, and more especially the how and what would be the criteria of inclusion and exclusion from the nation. Clearly Albizu's Catholicism would be problematic given that Albizu actually stated that in the event that the nation were to be realized, all religious institutions needed to be nationalized.²⁶⁷ Furthermore in referring to the non-Iberian citizen, he argues that in the experience of other nations, they have been aggressive, and often times have

²⁶⁴Albizu Campos, "El mitin nacionalista celebrado en Mayagüez" [The Nationalist Meeting Celebrated in the Town of Mayagüez], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 185.

²⁶⁵Albizu Campos, "Homenaje a los Señores Albizu Campos y Selles Sola" [Awards Banquet for Albizu Campos and Selles Sola], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 180.

²⁶⁶While in his public speeches Albizu attacked freemasons, *espiritistas* (spiritualists?), and communists, among other groups, yet his closest allies and friends were freemasons, *espiritistas*, and communist. Ferrao, Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, p. 289.

²⁶⁷Albizu Campos, "Los actos celebrados por el Partido Nacionalista en la ciudad de Lares el día veintitres de septiembre en curso" [The Celebration of Activities by the Nationalist Party in the City of Lares on September 23], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 207.

threatened the stability of the host republic.²⁶⁸ He even goes on to demonise the “monstrous” creation of the “hybrid type” which is half “yanqui” and half “*boricua*” (“Puerto Rican”).²⁶⁹ Thus while it is not certain whether Albizu’s ideology would be realized in his nation, there is a clear indication that the membership of the nation would definitely be conditioned on ideological agreements with the dominant definition of the race culture. This is further evidenced in Albizu’s argument for who could “own” property or engage in economic transactions:

No one has the right to own a piece of land in Puerto Rico unless he is Puerto Rican. No one has a right to own anything in Puerto Rico unless he is Puerto Rican; nor commercial business, nor industry, nor banking, nor lands, nor ships, nor franchises, nor corporations...²⁷⁰

The question thus becomes, who defines, or rather certifies who is to be a genuine Puerto Rican citizen? Or more importantly does Albizu’s Nationalist Party own a monopoly on the definition of the nation, its nationalism, and its nationalists? If this is the case, then Albizu’s arguments on the rights of a citizen in a Constitutional Republic are empty.

Regarding Albizu’s hispanofilia, or nostalgia for the Spanish “motherland” on the grounds that Puerto Rico had more sovereignty under its Spanish alliance, we must be cognizant of the fact that Spain never recognized the *de facto* independence of Puerto Rico. What the Spanish monarchy, at the time, did was grant the island of Puerto Rico

²⁶⁸Albizu Campos, “Nacionalización de la riqueza extranjera” [Nationalization of Foreign Wealth], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 145.

²⁶⁹Albizu Campos, “Comentarios del Presidente del Partido Nacionalista al margen del informe rendido por el Instituto Brookings” [Comment by the President of the Nationalist Party Regarding a Report Drafted by the Brookings Institute], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 100.

²⁷⁰“Nadie tienen derecho a poseer un pedazo de tierra en Puerto Rico, si no es un puertorriqueño. Nadie tiene derecho a poseer nada en Puerto Rico, si no es puertorriqueño; ni comercio, ni industria, ni banca, ni tierras, ni buques, ni franquicia, ni corporaciones...” Albizu Campos, “El día de la consagración de la bandera de Puerto Rico” [A Day of Honor for the Consecration of the Puerto Rican Flag], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 257.

an enhanced status of sovereignty over its commercial, administrative, and in general insular affairs, perhaps more power than what the U.S. has ever given to the island. Furthermore, much in the like of the U.S., Spain retained supreme decision making power in all of its disputes. Thus, while Albizu clearly distinguishes an enhanced notion of sovereignty in the prior condition of Puerto Rico as a subject of Spain in relation to its acquired status under the Uncle Sam, he clearly invents a status of sovereignty and nationhood which was not *de jure*.

This vision is further problematic considering Albizu's glorification of Simón Bolívar and Valero. First of all, Bolívar and Valero fought against Spain for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America. In essence they were anti-Spanish, or rather against the monarchy's hegemony over the American colonies. To rely on these heroes to reassert the nationalist pantheon of heroes, contradicts the very links that Albizu is trying to forge with a Spanish "Mother Land". A perhaps a greater irony was the fact that the Lares revolution of 1868 was organized to fight against the Spanish regime governing the island of Puerto Rico. In fact most of the organization and support was organized in the United States. For Albizu to redefine a tradition of revolution against the Mother Land and to claim parallels with his contemporary struggle against the United States is to invent a past which did not exist or happen. The very act of claiming the Lares revolution as a founding moment in his struggle poses an irreconcilable contradiction within his invention of traditions of patriotic duty, and his definition of the identity of the nationalist.

The question which we return to is rather can Albizu's nation become independent in an interdependent world? For Albizu economic independence was primarily reduced to the power to regulate the flow of capital within the nation, and to further be able to guarantee that national interests were benefiting members of the nation in a more egalitarian way. First, Puerto Rico was not a self-sustaining island; it simply did not have the resources to provide for all of the national needs. In that sense, Albizu's

nationalism was rather conditioned to a larger international market, with all of its exigencies, and all of hierarchies which existed within. The nation would be just another competitor in an international system of capital, ruled by a ruthless code of profit maximization.

Furthermore, the idea of economic egalitarianism did not necessarily question the internal hierarchies which permeated every strata of the Puerto Rican social, economic, and political order. Surely, Albizu's dismissal of the socialists rested on his argument that once class distinctions, or rather the economic problems of the island were abolished, the need for that ideology would disappear²⁷¹, but then what were the more important economic hierarchies which transcended labor classes? For Albizu the issue becomes one of land distribution and more especially the nostalgia for the romantic idea of the creole Puerto Rican who lived off the land and in the rural area.²⁷² However, what happens when all of the land is distributed and some people do not receive the more fertile lands, if they receive any at all? Or what do we do when we run out of land, or when the land ceases to be productive, or simply when other generations of Puerto Ricans want to engage in other economic endeavors outside of farming and fishing?

Together all of this suggests that Albizu's nationalism was quite contingent on the *other's* definition of his ideology and the nationalist imagining of the nation. In a sense, the Albizuista nation is carved out of multiple readings of the U.S.'s multiple definitions of the Puerto Rican nation. For example, Albizu's juridical definition of the Puerto Rican nation, resulted from a reading of various laws which were ultimately enabled and

²⁷¹Albizu Campos, "El estado federal no es aceptable porque destruirá nuestra personalidad colectiva" [The Federal State is not Acceptable for it will Destroy our Collective Personality], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. I: p. 15.

²⁷²Albizu Campos, "Pedro Albizu Campos: La exclavitud azucarera" [Pedro Albizu Campos: The Sugarcane Slavery], in Pedro Albizu Campos: obras escogidas, Vol. II: p. 17.

authorized by the empire of the time. Its economic argument was contingent on a direct economic relationship with the empire. Its political definition was shaped out of a colonized vision of the self, in difference to a more holistic vision of the Puerto Rican community. In sum, the Albizuista nation becomes a definition of the self in relation to its colonial condition of Otherness.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Part of what I set forth to accomplish was a discussion of some foundational moments in the histories of black and Puerto Rican mass-based nationalisms. My original interest was to tease out some of what I believed to be similarities between two alien discourses which challenged the same enemy, the same oppressor. What I found were romanticized ideologies that in many ways reproduced the very same hierarchies that not only created the need for their existence, but further perpetuated similar conditions of oppression. In this temporary conclusion, I want to outline two future projects. The first is a discussion of four areas of contention which both of these ideologies share. The second is to suggest some of the limitations of this project, and more particularly begin to set the ground for further research.

Issues

The Pan-African and Pan-American endeavors served to create a universal metaphysical sense of solidarity and national identity that transcended national spaces. In a sense these two projects see the nation as a homogeneous and transcendental project which any African or Hispanic could represent respectively. These views propose a definition of the nation that situates it as a historical creation, a space that in many ways is a result of conflicts, but also a project that transcends the “partisan sympathies” of the U.N.I.A. and the Nationalist Party. In a sense the Pan-African/American nation stands in a paradoxical relationship with history. “It is a historical creation, but at the same

time, is beyond history. It is a frozen paradigm that can be represented by a political party.”²⁷³

In addition, both nationalists equated the idea of the nation to the idea of the race. More importantly both movements claimed to not only represent their races, through their parties, but both used the idea of the Pan-African and Pan-American to create a sense of solidarity that transcended geo-political and historical boundaries as well as experiences and that would enable their followers to identify with a homogeneous vision of the nation. This vision both ignores the diversity of experiences and interests of black and Puerto Rican individuals, and further imposes a homogenizing identity on the individual. The assumption becomes that the nationalist citizen unconditionally embraces the nationalist ideology, otherwise s/he becomes an enemy, a “sell-out,” an assimilationist, an integrationist, or simply an accomplice of the oppressor.

Fascism has been an important condition of most nationalisms of this period. For the most part I suspect that nationalists at the time identified with the radical challenges to the status quo and the economic success of the fascist regimes in Europe. It appears to me that fascist regimes, at least prior to the public exposure of mass genocide, served as a “model” for nationalists around the world to emulate. In Garvey’s case, he clearly embraced the idea of being fascist, to the extent that he bragged about having invented this idea. Clearly, Garvey did not live to revisit his words, particularly after World War II. The question becomes, did Garvey understand what fascism meant, or was he simply making another propagandist comment to attract the attention of the media and the masses? In the case of Albizu, it is clear that although moving away from using Nazi symbols, he continued to embrace an authoritarian vision of the nation. However, after the 1930’s he spent most of his time imprisoned, and at present I have not been able to locate any of his speeches, nor any of his texts.

²⁷³Roberto Alejandro, April 16, 1996.

Clearly, Garvey does embrace some of the same positions which Nazi Germany defended, such as an equating of the pure race with the pure nation, a national economic program suggesting the eventual possibility of a national socialism, a conservative land owning program, a propaganda strategy, and even to a certain extent some similar military symbols, such as the use of black shirts. However, given that Garvey was actually trying to invent a tradition where he could insert or position his ideology I am a bit skeptic of suggesting that Garvey understood the idea or implications of fascism. At any rate I think Garvey identified with the success of the German nation as the success of any nation. This economic, military, and political success of these nationalisms, is what I think appealed to Garvey. This is not to say that in the event that he established his nation in Africa, he would not engage in similar practices, but it is rather a concern with reading too much into Garvey's ideological outbreaks.

In the case of Albizu, it is clear that his Cadets of the Republic did embrace similar codes of behavior and symbols which the Spanish *falange*, and other fascist oriented groups embraced. He also embraced a similar program of national socialism, as well as a similar vision of the race, and the entitlements of the conservative landowner class. But again the question becomes, did he understand the historical meaning of his ideology? I think it is possible to argue that Albizu's movement, much like any conservative movement of its time, embraced similar strategies of resistance, particularly those which it identified as being successful against the oppressive status quo. In fact his millenarian return to the romantic imagining of the Hispanic Puerto Rican nation, suggests that he wanted to return to the status which the island had during its relationship as subjects to the Spanish monarchy.

For Garvey and Albizu, citizenship, suggested membership and a sense of belonging to the national home, as well as an entitlement to particular rights. Citizenship also meant a passport, as well as boundary to enable multiple hierarchies. It guaranteed certain entitlements as well as a link or bond between the national community

and the nationalist citizen. Citizenship was also a measuring standard of inclusion and exclusion within the community. With this in mind I would like to suggest that citizenship served as a homogenizing tool of the nation, which sought to eliminate diversity by granting the nationalist a sense of justice and an empty promise of rights.

Both nationalists used the idea of citizenship as a promise of justice, democratic participation, and an actual sense of belonging to the nation. Under the new nation, traditionally marginalized individuals were promised a sense of accessibility, economic opportunity, and more importantly a forum to effectively redress their anger and frustration. Citizenship was to be the materialization of dignity. The problem arises in the fact that the citizen is only free, and has all of these rights as long as s/he is in full agreement with the national interest. Thus the question what happens to subsequent generations who may want to claim other rights? Or, more importantly, what happens to other members of the African diaspora who identify as nationalists, but have different interests? In the case of Puerto Rico, what room is there for the other defenders of independence who do not necessarily embrace the authoritarian and militant vision of the Nationalist Party, yet continue to defend some of the very same claims to social, economic, and political justice?

The final issue which begs to be raised is the negotiation of civil, political, and economic rights which resulted from embracing a nationalist movement. For Garvey, the Americans of African heritage, or at least a select few, were to escape to the motherland in order to realize justice. What happens about the others? Or more importantly what happens when the Garveyite movement continue to embrace the same hierarchies and structures of oppression which actually enable the very urge for an alternative solution? Finally the question needs to be raised as to what happens with the progressive civil legislation that the “enemy” may enable in their societies? Will the nationalist shun it on the grounds that it is the Other’s invention?

This was the case with Albizu who criticized the granting of women's suffrage and the placement of a black man in a public office in the island, two progressive civil strides which would perhaps have never have happened under the Spanish monarchy. Yet, in an effort to dissuade public alliances with the "enemy" Albizu criticizes these moves as strategies of the "yanqui" to further destroy the nationalist homogeneity. It is almost as if the national paradigm freezes in time once the nation has come into place. More dangerously, it is almost as if once the nation comes into existence, the efforts are turned into preserving it as it was originally established. The nationalist appears to fall within a circular entrapment of establishing the nation through traditions, and maintaining the nation for its traditions. Civil changes are thus contained at the edge of the nation.

Limitations of This Thesis

This study has a number of limitations, most of which are a direct result of time constraints. By this I mean that I have not developed some areas of contention which I think need to be discussed in a more in-depth and exhaustive way. Although I would like to blame my time constraints on the fact that unlike traditional graduate students who engage in this type of academic activity and have the financial resources and support which enable them to invest larger amounts of time in these endeavors, I have had to work several full-time jobs as well as participate in counseling and helping other students succeed, however, I want to assume full responsibilities for not addressing these and other issues.

Clearly I need to embrace a broader discussion of nationalism, engaging in a discussion with other nationalist texts. In other words part of this study should be a discussion of these two nationalism within the larger "mainstream" academic discussions of nationalism. Part of my aversion to engaging on this endeavor, aside from time constraints, was the fact that the "canon" does not even consider these two nationalisms as important. In a very real sense black and political nationalism, for some

strange reason, have been largely marginalized from mainstream and radical discussions of nationalism. Within this reality, I simply did not feel comfortable inserting models and frameworks of ideologies which were neither informed, nor are informed by these movements.

An issue which needs to be discussed in this text, is the relationship of “high cultures” to traditions and signifying symbols. It seems to me that these discussion may participate in informing my discussion of invented traditions. More importantly I suspect that this inquiry may elucidate two of the major dangers of nationalist ideologies, namely the privileged position of nationalists, and the reproduction of traditional, oppressive hierarchies.

Another major issue which merits closer discussion, is the role of Christianity in the civilizing projects of both nationalists. More importantly, it seems to me that “messianic” traditions play a key role in the discussions of both nationalists. I need to further immerse myself in the theological texts and further understand some of the semiotic strategies which religions have employed throughout time.

Finally I need to engage other theorists who are talking about Garvey and Albizu. This aversion is partly due to time, as well as to the nature of this endeavor. This was supposed to be simply a Master of Arts Thesis.

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